



Daily Report

East Europe

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NOTICE TO READERS: This volume contains a representative selection of material previously disseminated in softcopy format.

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President Welcomes Greek Arrest of Extremists
NC0804164095 Athens ELEVTherOTIPIA in Greek
8 Apr 95 p 5

[FBIS Translated Text] Albanian President Sali Berisha described the recent arrests in Dhelvinakion as a "significant Greek gesture." He also asked Athens to mediate in order to smooth out relations between Belgrade and the Kosovo Albanians.

In an interview with the ATHENS NEWS AGENCY, Berisha appeared as a defender of Greek-Albanian relations, saying he views Greece as a factor of regional stability.

Among other things, the Albanian president said: "I believe the Greek gesture (the arrest of the seven in Dhelvinakion) is very significant because it proves clearly that the government wants to stop the extremists. This is very important to the future of Greek-Albanian relations. Politicians on both sides must have the courage to rise against persons who are trying to create problems in our relations.

"If these people are listening—not only in Greece but everywhere—I believe they are returning to the Middle Ages. The arrest of the seven is a very significant event that serves as a message to those who are trying to harm our bilateral relations. I believe they will not achieve their goal because the Greek Government had the guts to condemn their activities.

"Greece can encourage Serb President Slobodan Milosevic to begin talks with Ibrahim Rugova, the leader of the Kosovo Albanians. Also, as an EU member, Greece can raise the difficult situation of the Albanians in Kosovo. This will be a significant contribution. I want to clarify that Albania is not asking for a change in the borders. It is seeking a democratic solution to the problem. Based on these principles, we could have changed the situation. This crisis must end because it is dangerous for the entire Balkan region.

"Personally, I am fully convinced that Serbs and Albanians must not confront each other, but cooperate. The Albanians are realizing that cooperation must prevail. But restoring the national rights of the Kosovo Albanians is very significant for the entire region.

"Albania is acting within the framework of international law, because as I have stressed, it does not desire any change in the borders, only a resolution of the issue through democratic procedures."

New Agency Aims To Attract Foreign Investment
AU1004093795 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 8 Apr 95
p 11

[Article by Stavri Sharrexhi: "Image Created by the Center for the Encouragement of Foreign Investments"]

[FBIS Translated Text] By attracting foreign investors, the Albanian Center for the Encouragement of Foreign Investments, created in 1993, is acting as a catalyst for the changes that are taking place in the course of the country's transition to a market economy. Albania has become better known to the business community in the last two years. This is thanks to the work of this center, with its main objective of creating an all-around image of Albania as a country hospitable to foreign investors.

Foreign investments arriving by January 1995 amounted to \$200 million, mainly in the production sector. The center's emergence on the international information network through a network of computers will soon help to attract increasing numbers of foreign investors.

Encouraging Foreign Investors—This Center's Aim

The Albanian Center for the Encouragement of Foreign Investment was created in 1993 in order to encourage foreign investments, the center's chairman Selami Xhepa says. It answers directly to the Council of Ministers, which shows the government's interest in the presence of foreign investors as a primary condition for accomplishing the changes taking place in our country. Albania's delay in embarking on a market economy has made the country somewhat unknown to the world. Our task, he stresses, is to show that Albania is a country that welcomes foreign investors.

The promotional techniques for achieving this aim include preparing general information material about the Albanian economy and explaining the legal framework and the encouragement it gives to investment. This information is conveyed to business organizations abroad, which the center has been contacting since it was first created, via contacts with the commercial representatives and economic counsellors of foreign countries in Albania, and also through our embassies in other countries.

Albania Is Becoming Well Known to the Business Community

The main evidence for our promotional activity, Mr. Xhepa says, has been the large number of foreign visitors being welcomed by this government agency. This shows that Albania is becoming well known to the business community, even though its capacity to absorb investment is not at the level we would wish. Not every investor that comes to Albania will decide to invest immediately. Several stages are necessary to make such a decision. First the foreigner becomes interested in a prospective field; then there are matters related to the legal framework, which is still not complete, and to industrial structures, which are in the process of change. These and other disadvantages for our country mean that even if an investor makes a decision to invest, to do so takes a longer time than in some other countries. A frank assessment of this situation has led the center to prepare an index of investors who have come to our

country, and, in order to eliminate these problems, to enter into direct contact with them. There has been no lack of foreign investors.

Direct investments to the tune of \$100 million have been made, which represent about 70 percent of the gross national product. If we add to this figure investments as part of government agreements and investments in the oil sector—Mr. Xhepa says—investments carried out up to January 1995 total \$200 million, brought by 394 foreign firms. Last year alone, 207 foreign or joint enterprises were created, mainly in the production sector. About 39 foreign firms have invested in textile and clothing production, 32 others in the food and food-processing sector, and others in the retail, services, construction, transportation, and agricultural sectors, etc.

Majority Aim To Expand Their Activities

Foreign investors can be found in many districts but have concentrated on Tirana and Durres, districts that account for 5 percent of foreign investment [figure as published], followed by Elbasan with 11 percent, and then Korçe, Viorë, Sarandë, etc.

One positive fact is that many of the foreign firms that have entered our country intend to expand their activities, such as the Austrian construction firm Rogner, the Italian company Di Vincenzo Estere, etc. There are also such firms as the Greek company Ulysses, which has so far been active in the retail sector and aims to create a national network based in Tirana. Its stores will offer a service of Western standards.

The initial investment for this project amounts to \$2 million, a figure that by the year 1997 is expected to rise

to \$5 million. The establishment of these firms in our country and their plans to expand their activities are an encouragement for the arrival of other foreign investors, Mr. Xhepa says. This is one way in which investors will be encouraged, while others involve strengthening the government's promotional work at all levels. We aim to improve our communications network, gaining access to the international information network by means of computers. This will make it possible to attract potential investors, which will lead to a growth in foreign investment. The lack of ready-made projects to offer investors, projects which merely require financing, has caused problems.

UNDP Supports Plans for 25 Enterprises

Because of competition among foreign investors and the lack of ready-made projects to offer them, the UNDP [UN Development Program] and UNCTAD [UN Conference on Trade and Development] are financing the preparation of projects at an opportunity stage for 25 enterprises. The plans for these will be drawn up by our specialists and will be promoted among foreign investors.

Mr. Xhepa says that, of these enterprises, 10 are private and the remainder state-owned, and they are mainly in the food and textile industries. They have been selected according to such criteria as speed of capital turnover, use of local resources, etc. When the plans are finished, they will be submitted to foreign investors, who will decide to take part in them or not, according to their fields of work.

Russian Party Official on Zhirinovskiy as President
AU0704115795 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 3 Apr 95
p 3

[Interview with Aleksandr Kaptelkin, head of the "Foreign Economic Relations" Department of the LDPR, by Tsvetana Krusteva; place and date not given: "Zhirinovskiy Pointed Out Bulgaria as the First Country in Which the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia Has Much To Do"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Krusteva] Mr. Kaptelkin, what is the purpose of your visit to Bulgaria?

[Kaptelkin] The presidential election campaign, as well as the December 1995 Duma election campaign, has already begun. Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovskiy, our leader and our genius, is literally sleeping only three to four hours a night. We are convinced that he will be Russian president within a year. Therefore, we are already preparing the doctrine upon which we will act next year. During the economic talks with the Bulgarian Liberal Democratic Party, we must determine the basic points of our foreign economic relations concept, which will come into effect next year.

[Krusteva] What interests do Zhirinovskiy and the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] have in Bulgaria?

[Kaptelkin] Recently, when we started to conduct an active struggle in Russia's political ring, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy pointed out Bulgaria as the first country in which we have a lot to do. I do not think we will cooperate as much with any other country. Zhirinovskiy said: "You must do everything that needs to be done in Bulgaria," because he thinks that for us, there is no state closer than Bulgaria. We are carrying a personal message, signed by Zhirinovskiy, to the friends of the LDPR. If we work together and find common interests and means to develop our foreign economic relations, we will eliminate the dependence on the dollar.

[Krusteva] With what countries does the LDPR have the most intensive economic contacts?

[Kaptelkin] In the last few months, we visited many major states with which we are bound by geopolitical factors and mutual cooperation. Our first visit was to Iraq, followed by India and Libya. As far as Bulgaria is concerned, I do not think we could talk about a closer friend. Throughout history, regardless of the developments in Russia, Russia has always supported Bulgaria.

[Krusteva] What financial support do you have in Russia?

[Kaptelkin] We are so powerful that if the officials stop stealing, we could guarantee every Russian citizen a decent life and give him a purpose in life—the better he works, the more he would earn.

[Krusteva] What do you predict for the next elections?

[Kaptelkin] I have a clear forecast: Our party must win. Every month the Academy of Sciences presents President Yeltsin with a stack of documents, among them an election forecast. According to the forecast submitted on 1 March, if the elections had been conducted, 37 percent of Russians would have voted for Zhirinovskiy.

[Krusteva] How much would the election victory cost?

[Kaptelkin] \$120 million.

[Krusteva] Where would you find this kind of money?

[Kaptelkin] There is an old rumor that our party is receiving money from a secret source. This is nonsense. There are people who are prepared to sell their most precious possessions to help us.

[Krusteva] Where is the LDPR's greatest power?

[Kaptelkin] In the truth. The mass media do not give us any air time because it is terrible to tell the truth. Vladimir Volfovich has received only 12 minutes in three months. However, when Zhirinovskiy represents our party on television, people leave their work just to listen to him.

Videnov, Qian Qichen Discuss Bilateral Relations
AU0704163395 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 7 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 7 April Prime Minister Zhan Videnov met with Qian Qichen, vice premier of China's State Council and minister of foreign affairs, who is visiting Bulgaria. Georgi Pirinski, minister of foreign affairs, took part in the talk.

Issues related to bilateral relations and the situation in southeastern Europe were discussed.

The Chinese side noted the possibility of stabilizing bilateral cooperation and developing it on the basis of long-range projects. Ideas on economic cooperation in specific areas were exchanged.

China has understanding for the Bulgarian demand for compensating the damage it suffers from the Yugoslav embargo. According to Mr. Pirinski, the Chinese understanding will not directly affect the fate of the Bulgarian demand for compensation.

A meeting between the Chinese guest and National Assembly Chairman Blagovest Sendov began a short while ago.

Accords Signed

AU0704152595 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 7 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Qian Qichen, vice premier of China's State Council and minister of foreign affairs, is continuing his visit to Bulgaria. At the Ministry of

Foreign Affairs today, three Bulgarian-Chinese documents have been signed: a protocol on cooperation between the two foreign ministries, an agreement on legal assistance in criminal cases, and a program on cooperation in science and education.

The Chinese guest made a statement for the journalists. He said China has never supported the use of sanctions as an instrument of international relations.

A meeting between Qian Qichen and Prime Minister Zhan Videnov began a short while ago.

Bulgaria Called 'Stabilizing Factor' in Balkans

AU0704155195 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 7 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bulgaria is a stabilizing factor in the Balkans. It is conducting a balanced policy, and this is assessed positively in Germany and throughout Europe. We hope Bulgaria will continue to conduct such a policy, said Guenter Verheugen, SPD deputy floor leader and federal manager, today at a news conference.

During his visit to Bulgaria, Verheugen had talks with Prime Minister Zhan Videnov, leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party; Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski; and representatives of the basic political forces in Bulgaria, the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions, and the Podkrepa Labor Confederation.

Summarizing his meetings, Mr. Verheugen stressed that Bulgaria is striving to integrate with Europe, and expressed German support for this. We are prepared to support Bulgaria's European orientation through contacts, dialogue, and the exchange of experiences not only on a bilateral but also on a multilateral basis, Verheugen pointed out. He also said that he shares the opinion of his Bulgarian interlocutors that Bulgaria's membership in the European and Euro-Atlantic structures could contribute to the stability of the region.

Spokesman Rejects Serbian Claims of Violations

AU0704170595 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 7 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 7 April Vladimir Sotirov, deputy head of the Foreign Ministry International Organizations Department, made a statement for Bulgarian radio in which he expressed bewilderment at the campaign initiated by Serb official representatives, who are disseminating claims about violations of the rights of some Serb minorities in Bulgaria.

Mr. Sotirov said that this is apparently an attempt on the part of official circles in Serbia to divert attention from the facts related to violations of the rights of the Bulgarian minority in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Editorial Concerned About Turkish, Greek Armament

AU1004105595 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 6 Apr 95 p 10

[Editorial: "Should We Destroy Our Tanks?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Good for our southern neighbors! Thanks to Turkey and Greece almost half of all weapon deliveries in 1994 have taken place in Europe.

For the third year now, Ankara and Athens are Number One in anything related to weapons imports. Somehow this fact does not jibe with the appeals they issue from time to time about peace and cooperation in the Balkans. As if the war in the former Yugoslavia—where all kinds of weapons are being used—is not enough, now weapon arsenals are growing in the southern part of the peninsula, for only-God-knows-what purpose.

Against this background all our statements to the effect that we are an oasis of tranquility in the Balkans do not help us at all. It would therefore be prudent, in any case, to think about whether we should be cutting our tanks to pieces and destroying our military plants.

OSD Plan To Turn BSP Into Federation Viewed

AU0704160895 Sofia 168 CHASA in Bulgarian 3-9 April pp 13, 18

[Article by Karmelita Deneva: "BSP—Federation and Not Party?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] If it wants to preserve its unity, the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] must become a federation rather than remain a party. This is what the Alliance for Social Democracy [OSD] views as a salvation for the 100-year-old party. The absolute power that it won on 18 December and its probable victory at the municipal elections would otherwise intensify the contradictions at 20 Positano Street [BSP headquarters].

Reportedly, only [OSD leader] Chavdar Kyuranov has still not grasped this idea. According to the OSD, the BSP could become a modern federation within five to seven years. In order to achieve this, the BSP must change its charter so that the ideological currents have not only faction status but autonomy. The OSD points to Mitterrand's party as an example.

For the time being, the OSD is consulting the powers-that-be on the idea. According to OSD members, Zhan Videnov was not opposed to the idea; he approached it with an open mind but not his heart.

Contacts with the strategist Lilov are much more difficult. One OSD member said that "Lilov is as timid as a roe." However, as someone who has observed Lilov's development in the last two to three years, he believes that Lilov would support the federation idea. The OSD will soon send emissaries to the former leader, because he has indicated that he has nothing against improving relations with the OSD.

The OSD is not interested in Andrey Lukanov's opinion and hopes that he does not find a way to obstruct its intentions.

The OSD's idea makes sense, and it could succeed if it finds supporters not only among the leaders—where an easy deal could be struck—but among the rank and file members.

As long as the BSP was in opposition, it marched in a consistent formation. Two months after its victory, however, no one can any longer hide the serious differences within the BSP, which constantly produce surprises. Within two to three weeks, the OSD will reportedly officially announce its idea about the federation as the only salvation for BSP unity. The OSD is in a hurry because it is afraid of the "Marxist Platform," which held a national conference and emerged as one of the serious forces within the BSP.

The dark-red current, to which almost no one paid any attention when the BSP was in opposition, now senses that its hour has come. Their leader, Mincho Minchev, said that the BSP must become the party of the poor and restore Marxism as its ideology. Mincho Minchev also threatened that if Videnov's cabinet continues its policy, the "Marxist Platform" will become an overt opposition to Videnov. This is more than an empty threat. It is no secret that the leftist wave is gaining momentum in the BSP and that the "Marxist Platform" is the carrier of that wave's banner. Experts familiar with the BSP psychology think that if anyone could topple the cabinet, this could be only the "Marxist Platform."

After the 18 December victory, Aleksandur Lilov became silent as never before, mainly because his idea about the need to keep the BSP in opposition for 10 to 15 years failed. Now the BSP is in power, and he sees the "Videnov cabinet" as a real threat to the party. Lilov

alone could not do anything, but he would not discredit himself by openly associating with the "Marxist Platform." The OSD is his only option.

One OSD member admits that "the OSD does not belong to Andrey Lukanov but rather to the children who have been thrown out into the street after the party used them." The OSD consists of two parts: "the stagnant elite"—Kyuranov, Pirinski, Paparizov (and Bokov and Tomov prior to their withdrawal)—and the people outside the elite—Yonchev, Karadimov, Dureva, and the former secretary of the Dimitrov Komsomol Central Committee, Bundzhulov.

"The stagnant elite" has conquered solid positions in the government and cabinet, while Videnov invites the rest to the open plenums. Apparently he wants to use them for something. People in the OSD think that he wants to legitimize his rightist economic policy through them.

To all this, one should add Zhan and his young lions from the provinces, whom he made deputies. However, they have already started to grumble because they are no longer satisfied with just being deputies.

Will there be a future socialist federation? Videnov's leadership, which is still hesitant but would inevitably lead toward inflation and impoverishment, will generate a power protest energy within the BSP. If the red party does not change its organization, at a certain moment the Marxists could cut a huge slice from the party and provoke elections, which Zhan will lose.

If the party elite allows the various currents an access to the leadership at 20 Positano Street and a certain measure of autonomy, the BSP will not split despite its stormy life.

Havel Received by Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew

LD0804111095 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 8 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] President Vaclav Havel will end his two-week visit to the Pacific. Our special correspondent Miroslav Konvalina reports:

[Konvalina] Vaclav Havel's visit to Singapore culminated today in a meeting with Singapore's most renowned politician, father of Singapore's economic miracle and the second man in the government, Lee Kuan Yew. [passage omitted]

While in Singapore, Vaclav Havel again pointed out that the market economy should grow from a climate of political and civic freedoms. We want to make contacts with Singapore—business contacts, in particular. Through these contacts we want to enter third Asian markets and make local investors get active in the Czech Republic. The agreement on the protection of investment, signed today by Industry and Trade Minister Vladimir Dlouhy, will assist in achieving this goal. So will the agreements on visa-free contacts and on the prevention of double taxation that are under preparation.

Ends Visit to Pacific Countries

LD1004091895 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 0500 GMT 10 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Czech presidential delegation led by Vaclav Havel returned home yesterday from its two-week tour of Pacific countries. They visited Australia, New Zealand, Philippines, and Singapore. [passage omitted]

Zieleniec Returns From Official Talks in U.S.

LD0804124795 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 8 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec returned today from a three-day official visit to the United States. In Washington he held talks with, among others, his counterpart, Warren Christopher; Anthony Lake, the President's adviser on national security; and Madeleine Albright, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. The topics discussed included the Czech Republic's admission to NATO, cooperation between the two countries' armed forces, and bilateral economic relations.

Minister Zieleniec said that NATO expansion is inevitable and is in the interest of European security. The U.S. officials stressed that the process of integration with the alliance would be very individual. According to Minister Zieleniec, the U.S. officials referred in particular to the Czech Republic and Poland.

Munitions Firm Denies Sales to Former Yugoslavia

AU0704160995 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 6 Apr 95 p 1

[Article by Jaroslav Kmenta: "Vlasim Ammunition Appeared in the Balkans"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Czech ammunition, originally manufactured for hunting and sporting rifles but usable in army rifles, appeared on military materiel black markets. According to a source close to intelligence services, with the authenticity of the information confirmed by a Czech diplomat operating in the Balkans conflict region, ammunition from the Vlasim firm Sellier & Bellot appeared on the black market in former Yugoslavia.

However, Alexandr Petrzalka, spokesman for the arms manufacturer, denied that there were any ammunition exports by his firm to the embargoed region. The Ministry of Industry and Trade also denied ever having permitted such a sale. According to Petrzalka, however, military ammunition manufactured and exported from the country before 1989 could appear in the region of former Yugoslavia. After all, Sellier & Bellot was an important ammunition supplier for the Warsaw Pact countries.

Nevertheless, intelligence sources suspect that ammunition the Czech arms manufacturer produced after 1990 as a civilian version for hunting arms has been traded on the black markets.

Sellier & Bellot manufactures 7.62-mm caliber cartridges marked 7.62 x 39, recognized by the State Arms and Ammunition Testing Lab as civilian rifle ammunition. According to experts, however, this cartridge can be used in military arms. Although it does not have the range, penetration, and velocity of the military cartridge, its use can be deadly.

"This cartridge can be loaded into a military weapon, but it will shoot in a nonstandard manner and with a risk of jamming," the Vlasim firm spokesman said. "It is farfetched to present the military ammunition as civilian. To sell such ammunition on the black market would be suicide, on top of that," he added.

Temelin Opening To Be Delayed by 9 Months

AU0704163295 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 6 Apr 95 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Temelin Construction Will Be Substantially Delayed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—CEZ (Power Generating Works) confirmed yesterday that the opening of the Temelin nuclear power station will have to be postponed by approximately nine months. According to the current schedule, the test run was to have started in September 1996.

Czech television reported yesterday that the start of the operation will be delayed because of delayed project work linked to changes in the new control system supplied for this power station by the U.S. firm Westinghouse.

At the same time, it reported that the cost of the construction will increase by some 10 percent. This means that the original price of 32 billion korunas will increase by at least 3 billion korunas. CEZ spokesman Miroslav Novak said, however, that an increase of the budget by 1 billion korunas would raise the cost of 1 kWh by only 1 haler.

Payment Agreement With SR To Be Discussed

95CH0205A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 28 Mar 95
p 10

[Article by Timea Spitkova: "Czech-Slovak Trade Link Endangered"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Following the March 8 presidential meeting of Vaclav Havel and Michal Kovac, relations between the Czech Republic and Slovakia have grown strained, hampering economic negotiations.

The fate of a special clearing-account trade agreement has become part of the political squabble between the countries, although the positions of the two republics remain somewhat uncertain.

"A meeting with the head of the Czech government was already (planned)," said Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar on Slovak TV March 15. "Unfortunately, the meeting of the presidents, and the atmosphere that evolved there, interfered with this meeting (of Meciar with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus)."

Comments made by Havel regarding his concern over the political situation in Slovakia "were not appropriate and were insulting to Slovakia," said Meciar.

Klaus said the meeting between the two presidents will not affect the negotiations between the two countries in April.

Further animosity has arisen in reaction to statements made by representatives of the Czech government who apparently favor unilateral cancellation of the present trade arrangement between the two countries.

Czech Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik proposed the termination of the payments agreement with Slovakia by April. According to Kocarnik, Slovakia failed to abide by a promise to withdraw protectionist measures, and the present arrangement continues to discriminate against Czech exporters.

Klaus, however, told Czech Radio that rumors of a Czech withdrawal from the payment agreement are false.

"It's clearly evident that the question of the payment agreement will be a part of this package that I will discuss with Mr. Meciar," Klaus said.

The Czech-Slovak clearing agreement, set up following the breakup of Czechoslovakia, allows for the payments of goods traded between the two countries to be conducted in nonhard currency based on a credit system.

The clearing account has a credit limit of 130 million ECU. If the limit is exceeded at the end of a month, the debtor must settle the difference in a convertible currency. The implementation of protectionist measures by the Slovak government led to a sharp drop in Czech exports to Slovakia, which required the Czechs to pay \$513 million to Slovakia.

While members of the Czech government argue that the agreement is beneficial to Slovakia, Slovak representatives claim that the arrangement favors the Czechs.

Josef Borokovsky, president of the Confederation of Slovak Industry, said the clearing account for trade should be annulled.

Imports from Slovakia to the Czech Republic accounted for 13 percent of total trade, while exports into Slovakia represented close to 15 percent of total trade in the first three-quarters of 1994.

Departing Chinese FM Briefs Journalists on Talks

AUG704170295 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Apr 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Leopold Moravcik: "More Room for Direct Contacts"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—A continuing decentralization is expected in the trade between Slovakia and China, and some of the government powers should be assumed directly by the enterprises. This is indicated by the results of the talks between PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and Slovak representatives, which the chief of Chinese diplomacy commented upon yesterday, when concluding his official visit to Slovakia.

"Our governments will support and stimulate enterprises to establish direct contacts and cooperation," Qian Qichen asserted, and added that both parties are now seeking ways for a further development of cooperation. As a specific example of the possibilities, he gave the interest of China in importing from Slovakia some components for the expansion of the thermal power plant in Chengdu in the province of Sichuan. [passage omitted]

To the question from PRAVDA regarding the PRC foreign policy following the recent National People's Congress, he replied that its basic objectives and orientation will not change. Regarding Hong Kong, it is expected that this British colony will become a part of China on 1 July 1997, and in the process Beijing will follow the policy of "one country—two systems," which guarantees the unalterability of the political and economic systems of Hong Kong for the next 50 years. The ongoing dispute between some South Asian countries over the Spratly Islands, which China considers a part of its territory, must be solved, according to the chief of Chinese diplomacy, by means of peace talks and joint use of the natural riches of the islands. Regarding the problems of European security, he said that China noticed a change in the character of NATO. The country understands certain reservations on the part of Russia against the expansion of the alliance as fear of isolationism. [passage omitted]

Report on Interview

AU0704153295 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 5 Apr 95 p 1

[Unattributed report on interview with Qian Qichen, PRC vice premier and minister of foreign affairs, by Blazej Panik in Bratislava on 4 April: "Qian Qichen for NARODNA OBRODA: Czechoslovakia's Civilized Partition Made a Deep Impression on Me"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—"Although only a little over two years have passed since the declaration of Slovakia's independence, many positive changes have taken place in your country in this brief period," Qian

Qichen, PRC vice premier and minister of foreign affairs, told NARODNA OBRODA in an exclusive interview at the close of his four-day visit to Slovakia.

First and foremost, the Chinese leadership evaluates very positively the calm and peaceful course of former Czechoslovakia's partition. "The fact that all disputed issues regarding the federation's partition and, consequently, also the building of your independent state, have been settled by means of civilized dialogue made a deep impression on me," he said. Asked whether Chinese capital was interested in entering the privatization process in Slovakia, Qian Qichen said: "We are not considering this at present. In general, we are investing very little abroad for the time being. China itself now needs formidable investment capital from abroad."

Regarding questions of bilateral economic and trade relations, which were in the foreground of the Bratislava talks, the chief of Chinese diplomacy stressed that the government in Beijing put emphasis on direct contacts between companies. In connection with the idea to set up a Chinese trade center in Slovakia, he said that, initially, it should be a branch of the Chinese regional center in Budapest. "We communicated the proposal to your side at the beginning of this year and are now waiting for a reply," the Chinese representative told NARODNA OBRODA. He stressed, however, that the development of economic relations was a longer-term affair. In this context he noted, without any additional comment, that Slovakia already had its third government since becoming independent.

Asked about the status of Hong Kong after July 1997 when it will transfer from British administration to Chinese administration, Qian Qichen said that a special administrative region would be established there. The present capitalist economic system in Hongkong as well as its position as a world financial and banking center will be retained, according to his words. "It will be a typical example of our slogan: One state, two systems."

Defense Minister Signs Agreement With Canada

LD1004090795 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0800 GMT 10 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovak Defense Minister Jan Sitek and his Canadian counterpart David Collenette signed an intergovernmental agreement on military relations and a memorandum of understanding between the two ministries on military cooperation. The signing took place in Toronto yesterday.

These documents outline in greater detail the program and conditions of military cooperation based on the obligations accepted by both countries in accordance with the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Meciar on Treaty With Hungary, Other Issues

*LD0704164795 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 7 Apr 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar has commented for our Radiozurnal on the rather stormy developments on our internal political scene. He was interviewed by Martin Bartisek who first asked him about the much discussed Basic Treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Hungarian Republic.

[Begin recording] [Bartisek] The issue is the ratification of the Basic Treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Hungarian Republic. According to some statements by politicians, not even the government coalition has a united view of the treaty and the ratification process will not be necessarily smooth. Do you share this view?

[Meciar] We have never made secret of the fact that within the government coalition there really are different views as regards the content of this treaty. The Slovak National Party holds a different view from ours and that of the Association of Workers of Slovakia. However, these differences of views do not go beyond the treaty, they do not interfere with the coalition cooperation that is defended by all who are sides to it.

The discussion about the ratification of the treaty in the National Council will be probably very interesting. However, before I go ahead and face the National Council, I have to reach a unity within the government coalition—though a unity in difference. [passage omitted]

[Bartisek] It will be premature to envisage the course of discussion in the National Council, but you are optimistic enough to believe that the treaty will be ratified by the parliament.

[Meciar] Once the time is ripe within the coalition I will definitively submit the treaty to parliament.

[Bartisek] I will return to a statement made by Mr. Jan Findra [head of the Slovak Presidential Office] at parliament [on 6 April]. President Michal Kovac is convinced that you built and continue to build illegal parallel structures for intelligence activities aimed not only against the president, but also against other people.

[Meciar] As the president once again repeats a statement that I built something, he should prove it—otherwise he knows what a decent person should do. This is not the first statement of this kind.

An interesting paradox is emerging, which is to create the impression of a statement standing against a statement, of a war of words. However, documents are kept by the Slovak Intelligence Service—and we know their reference numbers—on shadowing institutions and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, Salus [as heard], etc. This was confirmed to me by the Slovak Intelligence Service director during our tete-a-tete conversation

before he announced he was leaving the Slovak Intelligence Service—and now he says something different; this is the matter for which he should be asked to bear both moral and legal responsibility.

As the president says that it is necessary to punish those who admitted their guilt, I want to ask what they should be punished for. For having admitted their guilt or for having carried out activities against the prime minister, thus contradicting the Constitution? Should not those whom they served, those who used them as an instrument, be punished? [passage omitted]

I do not know any politician in Europe who is more persecuted in this way as me. It is high time to stop this.

[Bartisek] An ordinary citizen following the developments on our internal political scene logically reaches the conclusion that at present individual views and statements by both sides are rather controversial. He is also likely to take the view that it is the General Prosecutor's Office to face most work.

[Meciar] I think so. The statements made by Mr. Mitro [director of the Slovak Intelligence service who resigned in February 1995] yesterday perhaps also violated the law. However, this is for the bodies dealing with this matter to establish. Given the fact that documents are now being fabricated to show that I had other constitutional officials, including the president, shadowed—I simply do not know at what these people will stop.

It is clear that I will not probably feel necessary to alarm our society, unless there have been written proofs, witnesses' statements, unless I heard a statement by the Slovak Intelligence Service director, which I will not comment on, because it was during our tete-a-tete conversations, followed by his immediate resignation, unless there have been some other facts.

However, as the intensity of a political struggle over these services is moving toward activities that once again threaten to introduce new deformations—it is necessary for me from a moral and political viewpoint to inform our public, brief our parliament, and demand their support. And, look, what I am getting instead of support.

Once you see that the situation is coming to a head in the way that will bring back well-known old scenarios, old actors, and even old methods, then one is obliged to say: Enough is enough, gentlemen. Enough of what you are doing, enough of those who are engaged in these activities.

This is why I felt obligated to inform the public—and let everybody make his own opinion. [end recording]

Party Head Opposes Ratification of Basic Treaty

LD0704165895 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 7 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The leader of the Slovak National Party, which belongs to the coalition, has ruled

out ratification of the basic treaty with Hungary while the current government is in power. Jan Slota also threatened to submit to parliament next week an amendment proposal that would severely punish those who violate Slovakia's interests. According to the nationalist leader, certain leaders of the Hungarian parties in Slovakia have already done this.

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar has again voiced the hope that he will be able to convince his coalition partner of the importance of the parliamentary ratification of the Slovak-Hungarian basic treaty.

Political Impact of Recent Agreements With Russia

95CH0190A Kosice DOMINO EFEKT in Slovak 2 Mar 95 p 2

[Article by Karel Hirman: "Into the Lair of the Big Bear?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The latest series of visits by Russian politicians, which culminated in the two-day visit by Prime Minister Chernomyrdin to Bratislava, again raised the issue of Slovakia's relations with this Eastern power. The discussions and the views which are being expressed in this connection indicate that neither the parties of the governing coalition and its leading representatives, nor the opposition have formulated a clear and precise strategy in this respect.

The greatest attention is paid to the stance of the Russian politicians toward the entry of Slovakia and other Central and East European countries into NATO. Their statements unequivocally showed that Moscow does not want even one single postcommunist country to become a full member of NATO in the immediate future, i.e., by the end of the decade. Today, it is also already obvious that all of the Russian political forces, including Gajdar's democrats, the important members of presidential apparatus, the communists, nationalists, and Zhirinovskii's fascists are against the entry of these countries into NATO.

Moscow, in view of its present economic, political, and, as Chechnya showed, also military weakness, knows that if the West, and particularly the United States, decides to accept these countries as NATO members, assuming sufficient internal political will for such a step in these countries, it will not be able to prevent it. Therefore the priority of its policy has focused on the effort to delay a definitive decision until the time when it will be sufficiently recovered and stabilized, so that it can resist such steps on the part of these countries more effectively.

Russia therefore is putting pressure on Brussels for the right to participate in decisionmaking, or at least to be consulted during the process of accepting new members. And precisely for that reason it also insists on having a separate agreement with NATO on a strategic partnership, which should be signed before or at least concurrently with the acceptance of Central European countries

into NATO. That way Russia could dictate the pace of the entire process according to its own needs.

The second tactical line of this "delaying" policy is aimed at Central European countries, that is, mainly at the Visegrad Four group. Its goal is to weaken the resolve of these countries to join NATO. And it was just this objective that was the purpose of the visits and statements by Russian politicians in Bratislava, but also a few days later in Warsaw.

The response in the two capitals was different. While on the banks of the Danube practically not a single official voice was heard in public that would resolutely and with sufficient clarity affirm Slovakia's will to join NATO, in Poland both President Walesa and the representatives of the parliament made it perfectly clear to Chernomyrdin that they are interested in a speedy entry into NATO. And at the same time they flatly declared that they simply will not ask Russia for its opinion.

In Slovakia, by contrast, not only can one hear over and over again calls for "balancing" relations between the West and the East, not only are Slovak politicians becoming something like defenders of Russian interests when they keep repeating, both at home and abroad, the need to integrate Moscow into the pan-European process, but many openly talk also about some kind of neutrality or compare Slovakia's status in the immediate future to Austria's status during the past several decades. And that is true not only of those in the government but also of opposition politicians, even those who pride themselves on their close and numerous contacts in the West.

Such fence-sitting, however, can have dire consequences for the country. First of all, it must be pointed out that Austria gained its status as a result of the cold war and the division of Europe. Its status of neutrality enabled it to get rid of the Soviet troops and preserve democracy. And, at the same time, it could aim, albeit more slowly than its Western-neighbors, toward integration into the West European structures. On the other hand, it was precisely its neutrality that prevented, despite its advanced economy, an early integration of Austria into the EU. That was possible to achieve only after the end of the cold war and the disintegration of the USSR.

In view of the fact that at present Europe is not divided into two blocs, but rather threatened by local conflicts or their spread from the former Yugoslavia as well as from the former USSR, a status even resembling neutrality ("positive" or "negative"), today becomes, especially in the Central European area, a destabilizing element. If our partners in the Visegrad Four continue in their efforts to join NATO, and nothing indicates the opposite, it would be irresponsible on the part of Slovak politicians to call it into question and make it difficult for their own country by cultivating some kind of special relations with Russia. The attempt to pass the law on national security in the U.S. Congress, according to which Slovakia, together with Poland, Hungary and the

Czech Republic should be accepted as a member of NATO in the near future, clearly signals the developments in the immediate future.

For Slovakia to be dropped out of this group, through its own fault, would mean not only a loss of prestige but also the isolation of the country. The country under the Tatra mountains could thus become a kind of appendix of the Eastern world and its interests, reaching as far as Vienna. The surrounding democratic world could then simply try to "surgically remove" it from its body. Slovakia would thus be left standing alone between the Eastern civilization where it does not belong, and the Western world where it historically and culturally belongs but which would cut it off from its circle in the interest of security and stability. The future of such a state would then be more than dismal.

The main reason given for a certain accommodation by Slovakia toward Russia in the political sphere is a considerable economic dependency, especially as far as the import of raw materials for energy—oil and gas—is concerned, as well as a substantial trade deficit. This amounts to roughly \$1 billion, according to the government's data. It is not clear, however, whether this deficit was calculated by simply deducting the volume of Slovak exports to Russia from the Russian exports to Slovakia (all the information indicates that that is the case), or whether the transit fees for oil and most of all gas were also taken into account. If not, then this deficit should be substantially smaller, because the transit fees are not negligible.

Another point which deserves attention is the insistence that Slovakia is dependent for these supplies on Russia, which thus can, by means of the spigots on the oil and gas pipelines, push its political interests. Slovakia is dependent, but not entirely so. Today, there already exists an alternative for the supply of oil (pipeline Adria), and there will be one ready in the near future (pipeline Ingolstadt-Litvinov), while other solutions are also realistic (Schwechat-Slovnaft). As far as gas is concerned, it is more of a problem. But here another factor enters into the equation. As Slovakia is dependent on Russian gas, so is Russia dependent on Slovakia for its transportation to the West. Moscow cannot afford to just blackmail Slovakia on the matter of gas, because it is dependent on the foreign exchange earnings from its export to West Europe, which is reportedly realized up to 70 percent through Slovakia's territory.

The penetration of Slovak products into Russian markets no longer depends on international agreements. The prime minister is right when he says that Germans, Americans, and others are pushing their way into those markets. However, not the governments of those countries but entrepreneurs and private firms. We have a similar case with our Czech neighbors, who engage less in pathetic rhetoric about gigantic projects but all the more in practical undertakings, including privatization. After all, the correctness of this approach is attested to by the successes of some Slovak enterprises.

Poland's example shows that there is no need to make political concessions for the sake of economic cooperation. Poland made the contract of the decade with Russia when it signed an agreement about constructing a new pipeline from northern Siberia across its territory to Germany. Russia signed it in spite of the fact that relations between Warsaw and Moscow are far from ideal. Simply, it did so because of economic necessity. And exactly the same applies to Slovak-Russian economic relations.

In this connection we also must consider Mochovce. The statement of Prime Minister Meciar that we shall complete it even if EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development] does not grant us the announced loan, that we shall do so with Russia's help, is a typical example of tough rhetoric whose practical positive effect is zero. On the contrary, it can cause a lot of damage. This statement, with which, incidentally, even Carnogursky practically identified himself, greatly contributed to the fact that we antagonized not only the radically "green" Austrians, but especially the soberly thinking part of Europe.

That was immediately reflected in the voting of the European Parliament, which recommended that EBRD does not give Slovakia the loan for Mochovce until the safety aspect of the entire project is clarified. It needs to be pointed out that the voting was almost unanimous—only about 20 deputies voted against the resolution. At the same time, the promised Russian loan of \$150 million is practically worthless as an alternative. For one thing, it is insufficient and does not cover even half of what is needed, and moreover, 50 percent of this amount is to be covered by supplies of Russian nuclear fuel—so that it can be used only after the power plant is completed.

And one more point. It is astonishing that Russia is to give us a loan when it owes us roughly \$1.5 billion. If Russia to were repay us this debt, we could finish Mochovce comfortably by ourselves, without any foreign loans and with state-of-the-art Western technology.

What has been said above shows that there exist no practical reasons why we should behave differently toward Russia than our "Visegrad" neighbors. We have exactly the same starting position in our relations with Moscow as they have, and everything is entirely up to us.

Visa Agreement Worries Czechs

95CH0200A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 28 Feb 95 p 1

[Article by Vladimir Todres: "Slovak Pact With Russia Is Inspiring Czech Fear"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bratislava—A bilateral agreement between Slovakia and Russia to waive visa requirements for travelers has raised fears among Czech officials of an uncontrolled influx of Russian workers—and criminals.

Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar signed the agreement February 13 in the Slovak capital. The pact eliminates visa conditions that were established before the fall of communism. Russians will now be able to travel through Ukraine and enter Slovakia with only a passport.

"The new (agreement) will most probably bring an increase in consumer-goods smuggling, petty crime and black trade in border regions," said Pavel Bem, secretary general of the Czech National Drug Commission.

The border between Slovakia and the Czech Republic is highly porous. Travelers report that trains are only cursorily inspected.

"Trains often are not being controlled at all," said Andrea Cevelova, an economics student in the Czech Republic who often visits relatives in Slovakia.

A journalist who frequently crosses the border reported that many night trains are not inspected, and that, when trains are inspected, many passengers seem to disappear one step ahead of the officials.

The Czech Republic's borders with Poland, Germany and Austria are much more strictly controlled, travelers agreed. But Beata Bernikova, a spokeswoman for the Czech Interior Ministry, insisted that conditions on the Slovak border were "nearly standardized" and would be sufficient to prevent any influx of immigrants.

Czech officials are doubtful that those fleeing troubled regions of the Russian Federation will be satisfied with Slovakia as a destination. Average incomes in Russia exceed the Slovak standard wage, and entry into the Czech Republic might ease Russian emigrants' entry into Western Europe.

In Slovakia, as in the Czech Republic, the visa agreement drew political fire.

The leftist Slovak daily PRAVDA quoted former Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner as warning of "the risks of organized crime structures" coming into the country.

According to Brigita Smognerova, a deputy prime minister in the toppled government of Jozef Moravcik and now in Bratislava's parliamentary opposition, "Unpredictable developments in Russia could result in a big wave of emigration."

But Meciar defended the agreement. "Having summed up all the advantages and disadvantages of the previous regulation, we decided that it put obstacles in the way of our economic relations," he said.

Seminar Speaker Warns Against Relying on NATO

95CH0164B Bratislava REPUBLIKA (OBRANA supplement) in Slovak 11 Feb 95 p 3

[Article by -FK-: "Do Not Rely on NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The staff of the NATO Consulting and Educational Center, which has been working at the Ministry of Defense of the Slovak Republic [SR] since 1 September of last year, made plans for an International Educational Program on National Security. Its practical realization with the participation of foreign speakers was laid out in four rounds of seminars between January and May of this year. The first, whose goal was the exchange of views on the structure of European security, joint foreign-security policy of the EU and NATO, and the implementation of the Partnership for Peace, took place in Bratislava at the end of January.

Taking part in the seminar were military experts of the SR Army, representatives of the SR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the SR Ministry of Interior, the Government Office, and the SR National Council. The international aspect of the meeting was demonstrated by the presence of the professor of international relations at the University of Groningen (in the Netherlands) and director of the Center for European Security Studies, Peter Volten.

According to him, in many countries the question is no longer whether to join NATO, but how to join. Especially important will be Russia's stance, even if it does not have the right of veto. The orientation of the East European countries toward joining West European security structures does not represent any threat to Russia.

On the problem whether the European security structures would be able to react if the local conflicts in the Balkans or in the former CIS were to spread to Central Europe, he answered: "When the cold war ended, neither CSCE (at present OSCE [Organization for Cooperation and Security in Europe]—editor's note) nor NATO were ready to deal with a crisis situation. The United States is becoming ever more reluctant to be the guarantor of security in Europe. Only Great Britain and France have professional units. No other government can afford to deploy conscripts outside its territory. For countries like Slovakia, it is more promising to integrate into the EU structures than to rely on NATO."

Peter Volten further said that there exists no power in the world that could rule it and order it to follow certain rules. In international relations the so-called realistic orientation prevails, which says that among the governments there is actually anarchy and each fights more or less for itself. There are two prospects. One is concern and fear whether we shall be dominated by someone else, and the other is cooperation.

To OBRANA's question, as to what is his view of the common foreign and security policy the EU and NATO as it relates to the implementation of the project Partnership for Peace in the specific conditions of cooperation with SR, the director of the Center for European Security Studies answered: "The Partnership for Peace and the EU have nothing in common. Partnership for Peace was created on the initiative of NATO and is a bilateral program of the individual countries. NATO

does not make entry among the member countries conditional on fulfilling the program, it merely tries to point the countries in a certain direction. A foreign security policy of the EU does not exist. Only in some cases when all the countries agree. As, for instance, on the support of democratic developments in some countries of the former Soviet Union and in South Africa, or global arms control. But that is not a foreign security policy. At the conference in 1996, the highest representatives of European countries will concern themselves with the problems of WEU. The main topic will be the problems of East Europe, especially the foreign policy of the EU toward those countries. The second task of the conference will be to find ways to support this process."

The individual rounds of seminars are mutually interrelated and participants of the entire educational program thus have the opportunity to get an informed overview of question of national as well as European security. This program is organized similarly in the other five postsocialist countries.

Meciar Meets With Envoys To Coordinate Activity

LD0804165695 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 7 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] The meeting of heads of Slovakia's diplomatic missions continued in Bratislava. In the morning, the diplomats were met by Deputy Prime Minister Sergej Kozlik and Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Prime minister, could you outline the main issues that were on the agenda of the representatives of diplomatic missions in the Slovak Republic?

[Meciar] This was the first working meeting of its kind. It was attended by ambassadors from all over the world to coordinate their activities with the Slovak Government's manifesto, share information, and accept their concrete individual tasks.

My discussion with them, quite naturally, touched on three main problem areas:

First, the issue of global security systems, Slovakia's integration in these systems, and its position and role in setting them up;

Second, the new political order of the European Continent and of world institutions;

And third, the issue of our economic interests. Slovakia's future is based on an unprecedented dynamization of external economic relations as well as integration issues. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Weekly Interview With Prime Minister Meciar

LD0704210795 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 7 Apr 95

[Weekly interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by reporter Martin Bartisek; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Bartisek] After the visit by Qian Qichen, Chinese vice premier and foreign minister, you pointed to the power, machine, and rubber industries as the main areas of our cooperation with China. Prime minister, one can expect the Slovak Republic to be especially active in these sectors. Still, could you be more specific?

[Meciar] [Passage omitted] China has taken measures to open itself up to activities in the free trade zone. Slovak businessmen can thus operate successfully on this market via Shanghai, without any customs burden. This free trade zone, bordering on the ocean, results in an unbalanced structure of consumption and revenue. This structure is different inland and on the seashore.

Under these circumstances, Slovak companies have a realistic chance to find their market there. It is especially the power industry which, in cooperation with Czech firms, can take part in the construction of power plants. There are also great chances for the machine-building industry. But these opportunities are literally everywhere. This area is still unpopulated. [passage omitted]

[Bartisek] Do you think that the quality of our products is good and that there should not be any problems in this respect?

[Meciar] Yes, I believe so. On the contrary, I think that some of our goods will stand the test even in competition with top world quality products, not only with regard to price but to quality as well. [passage omitted]

[Bartisek] The Austrian representative in the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] has said that the EBRD loan for the completion of the Mochovce power plant is inconceivable. He said, I quote, the reason is Slovakia's unpredictable attitude. Prime minister, in your view, can the term Slovakia's unpredictable attitude also be understood as relating to matters outside Mochovce's completion or as having any political undercurrent?

[Meciar] In my view, our attitude is very rational and it stems from the need to defend Slovakia's interests in this matter.

The decision to complete Mochovce was made by the previous government. However, the conditions attached to this were such that their acceptance would cause enormous problems to all. [passage omitted]

At present, we are trying to find economically efficient and advantageous ways of financing the project with regard to the cost, since various cost assessments span a gap of 8 billion crowns. We are also trying to arrange the supplier's network, in which there will be room for Electricite de France, Siemens, Skoda, as well as some Russian companies.

As for the EBRD, we welcome this bank's initiative and effort to help us but not under conditions similar to those

in Ziar nad Hronom [loan for the modernization of aluminium works in Ziar nad Hronom, central Slovakia].

[Bartisek] I would now like to return to parliament. At the sixth session of the Slovak Republic National Council you delivered a rather extensive statement, as a part of the deputies' discussion of the amendment bill on the Slovak Intelligence Service [SIS] which had been returned to parliament by the president. Some of your remarks about the SIS were rather critical and, in fact, cast doubts on a number of aspects of the work carried out by this state body.

We are well aware of the fact that it was the SIS that issued the disputed screening certificates. What steps will be taken now? Will these certificates be reassessed?

[Meciar] I do not think that screening certificates should be reassessed. In fact, we do not even have a basic documentation base to do so, as this base is still split into a part held in Bratislava and a part held in Prague.

In order to adopt a responsible stance on this, I think that the best solution is to end the entire screening process as it is based on a collection of untrustworthy documents. [passage omitted] The ending of the entire screening process—putting it aside as an event of the past—is the only way which I perceive as realistic and reasonable as regards state interests; we want to prevent the blackmail of people who might be registered there, which could force them to act in a certain way.

[Bartisek] If I understand you well, a dividing line should be drawn to separate the past from the present.

[Meciar] Since 1990 I have kept saying this, and so far I have not found any support. [passage omitted]

[Bartisek] Do you think that our society is mature enough to gather strength and courage to take such a radical step?

[Meciar] We should speak about something different—about the losses caused by the fact that this is still going on. Presenting data without checking it will result in much greater losses than gains. For example, over 90 percent of disputes about the correctness of the data on collaboration are decided by the courts against the Slovak Intelligence Service. This is the crux of the matter. [passage omitted]

This is why it would be correct and better to put an end to this practice, rather than to continue with it when it is not trusted any longer.

[Bartisek] [Passage omitted] What are your views about the situation regarding coupon privatization and the further steps to be taken by the government?

[Meciar] We have found property worth 41 million crowns to be privatized. This property forms the basis and we shall seek ways to increase it. The ratio is roughly 12,000 crowns per citizen.

As for future developments, we aim to privatize through coupon privatization. This means, in fact, that we will hand out property for free as the 1,000 crowns [registration fee paid on the purchase of a coupon booklet] is only an administrative fee and does not pay the value of the property. The next method will be the sale of property to company employees. We intend to finish this process by the end of 1996.

At the same time, we had to exempt the power grid from coupon privatization. If we were to privatize the power and gas industry, we would increase the value of privatization coupons. However, coupons and privatization funds offer the easiest way to move property abroad.

We have to tackle the basis of our economy first, deal with debts. Then the structure will have to change and only after that should we start discussing privatization. Therefore, we will put forward a bill, just as they did in the Czech Republic, to postpone privatization by five years and to stop it for the time being. This will result in cutting down the property on offer in the coupon privatization. This is a difficult and responsible decision to make but we have to face our people and to tell them honestly what we are doing and why. [passage omitted]

Meciar Rejects Carpathian Euroregion

95CH0193A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 14 Mar 95 p 1

[Article by Timea Spitkova: "Meciar Revokes Slovak Role in Euroregion"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vranov Nad Toplou, Slovakia—Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar is locked in a conflict with leaders from eastern Slovakia who want to join a trade zone that links border regions of Hungary with four other countries.

At the request of local leaders, nine Slovak districts gained full membership 29 January in the Carpathian Euroregion, which encompasses shared border regions of Slovakia, Poland, Ukraine, Romania and Hungary.

Saying that the local leaders had acted illegally, Meciar requested an immediate abolition of Slovakia's membership and threatened the regional representatives with arrest. The local leaders met 23 February to accede to the wishes of the government.

According to Meciar, local politicians had distorted the purpose of the project, which he had supported initially. He said the pact should be aimed at economic issues and trade.

"Instead, (the project) deals with questions of common culture in the Euroregion, narrowing the language barrier and common ground in history," Meciar said. "These are all political questions, not questions of economic cooperation."

Members of Meciar's government said the actions of the local leaders went against Slovakia's interests. "We

cannot allow groups that get foreign funding and take part in actions that are not in the interest of the state," said Interior Minister Ludovit Hudek.

Fear of Hungarian domination is a likely reason behind the government's opposition to the zone. "Both Slovakia and Romania have unfounded concerns that the Euroregion is some kind of front for a Hungarian zone of influence," said Stephen Heintz, who directs the European Studies Center at the Institute for East West Studies in Prague.

The reaction of the Slovak government came as a surprise to some.

"We do not believe that we have done anything illegal," said Eduard Ivanco, the representative of the Slovak districts that joined the Euroregion. "We have been working on this project for two years, and the government has been fully informed."

In a letter to the Slovak government, Vasil Hudak, director of the Atlanta, Georgia branch of the Institute for East West Studies, criticized the government decision. "The Slovak government pointlessly dramatized the whole matter," he wrote.

Results of SDL Congress Analyzed

95CH0202A Bratislava MOSTY in Slovak 28 Feb 95 p 8

[Commentary by Juraj Horvath: "Slovak Mensheviks"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Communists have returned to politics in three principal streams. The easiest and most successful return was the curve that led through nationalism (HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia], SNS [Slovak National Party]). The second route—involving perseverance in positions of dogmatism or more modernly stated fundamentalism—goes via the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] and the KSS [Communist Party of Slovakia]. The central stream—we call it the old-fashioned Menshevik stream, the minority stream—is honestly struggling through the thicket of misunderstanding that exists between the Communist Party and the social-democratic-type party. One thicket is represented by the current economic situation in Slovakia and the resulting social standing of the working class. In such a situation, it is easier to listen to sharp words than to words which explain the inevitability of the transition toward a policy which is responsive to the situation in Europe at the present.

Not even the above-mentioned central stream, which is represented by the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], is unified; the membership frequently follows the present leadership on the way toward transformation only hesitantly, particularly when it sees how much more successful the slogans of nationalism or fundamentalism are in the current Slovak situation. That is why, prior to the Third SDL Congress, there were expectations of vacillation and even uproars of various intensity.

At the Zilina congress, two years ago, SDL chairman Peter Weiss received 99.9 percent of the votes. In the meantime, the breakthrough year of 1994 occurred, in which the SDL entered the government alongside rightist-oriented parties and, subsequently, there were the parliamentary elections. In these elections, only 12,000 votes saved the left from becoming an extraparlimentary party. And, in view of the Meciar victory, the SDL became modest. In its considerations as to whether to form a coalition with the HZDS, its conditions were not demanding nor were they unfulfillable. Except that Meciar is not into fine parliamentary moves—the thirst for revenge has priority. And so, at the beginning of November 1994, there occurred the energetic and ruthless coalition in the parliament between the HZDS plus the SNS plus the ZRS, in the image of the well-known "83" ("the night of the long knives"), which forced the SDL to rise from its knees.

In contrast to the situation which obtained at Zilina, the Third SDL Congress at Poprad had three candidates for the position of party chairman: Weiss, Fogas, and Ftacnik. The first two formulated their positions as follows: Weiss—"We had differing views regarding the tactics to be used in relationship with the HZDS." Fogas—"We were convinced that it is necessary to systematically negotiate with all parliamentary parties; Weiss believed that, in certain situations, there was nothing to negotiate." The elections resulted in Weiss getting 131 votes (53.9 percent), Fogas got 82, and Ftacnik 30 votes. In platform questions, the social-democratic orientation was preserved.

It is true that there was a certain amount of disappointment in the high command of the HZDS. The HZDS continues to look for seven additional votes to add to the 83 coalition votes, so that it can obtain the two-thirds majority required to make constitutional changes. Except the SDL congress made a statesmanlike decision from the standpoint of long-term requirements. In the present Europe, Slovak workers cannot be represented only by nationalists or fundamentalists. To join with the European streams means one must communicate in the language which the contemporary world understands.

Commentary on Congress

95CH0189B Kosice DOMINO EFEKT in Slovak 2 Mar 95 p 2

[Commentary by Karol Wolf: "Weiss Survived His Own Political Death"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Third Congress of the SDL [Party of the Democratic Left] did not bring about the fall of Petr Weiss, as had more or less been expected, and not even the structure and character of the new narrower leadership of the party would indicate that his party allies had made any concessions. Nevertheless, Weiss, Schmoegnerova, Ftacnik, and company cannot be overjoyed.

The truth is at the same time cruel and simple. Petr Weiss was simply no longer to be party chairman. The reasons for this contention, which at first seems perhaps harsh, are several. The first and most serious is one which is generally known. The SDL failed completely in the recent elections. In comparison with its recently announced plans to move to the head of the Slovak Government, its present role in opposition is more than modest. Compared to the previous election period, the SDL lost more than 50 percent of its delegate mandates. The contribution made by Petr Weiss, who "arranged" everything from his position of party chief, is indelible. Simplified—in democratic countries, following such election "results" the party chairman submits his resignation on the day following elections.

The second reason is actually a continuation of the first—the SDL is continuing to decline in terms of voter preferences. According to the most recent polls, it "attained" what was for it until recently the unimaginable limit of 6 percent. In comparison with the postcommunist parties in Poland, Hungary, as well as elsewhere, this is a debacle which can only have one meaning—the party leader, who primarily forges its overall image, is simply unusable.

The third reason, which has thus far only been strongly sensed, surfaced directly at the congress. The debate on the future direction of the party indicated that the difference of opinion, and, judging by everything else, even the personal animosity between some of the old/new leading representatives of the SDL, was greater than the public—even the more initiated members of the public—had hitherto anticipated. However, given this status, the congress, by its own choice, thrust virtually the entire former leadership, headed by its chairman, into additional mutual combat situations, and shortly washed its hands by "ordering" an end to intraparty conflicts.

Two examples speak for everything: 1) The trio of Weiss, Schmoegnerova, and Ftacnik is expected to communicate within the leadership (chairman and deputy chairpersons) with Kanis, who, during the congress debate, openly attacked his former government colleague and the present colleague in the leadership of the party—Schmoegnerova—with a ridiculously demagogic criticism of her course with regard to the agreement with the IMF. 2) The same trio is supposed to clash with Magvasi during SDL Executive Committee negotiations; Magvasi went so far at the congress as to label the views of his opponents as "godless lies and demagoguery."

In other words, the congress essentially did not solve anything. But it did prove that the SDL, despite its high concentration of "potent" politicians, currently does not have a personality who would be capable of once more raising the standard of the party and recapturing lost positions. The favored Fogas proved to be an amateur and lost in an overly simplified manner. By all indications, Ftacnik did not even try very hard, and the

delegates were left with Weiss, who has the least objective prerequisites for solving the pertinent tasks.

The best proof of such a precarious situation is the fact that numerous delegates, who finally cast their votes for Weiss, admitted that they were dissatisfied. Not to mention that some of them openly opposed Weiss during the debate. Their motivation is best illustrated by the admission of a delegate who, unfortunately, did not wish to be identified: "Weiss was elected not only by those who wanted him, but also by those who did not want him, but were afraid that Ftacnik would not prevail against Fogas. Fogas was voted for by those who did not want Weiss or Ftacnik, and Ftacnik was voted for again by those who did not want Fogas or Weiss." Simply stated: The majority of the SDL delegates voted not for the best chairman according to their own convictions, but voted for the lesser evil.

The unnamed delegate (who, by the way, voted for Ftacnik) thus hinted at an interesting fact. If Weiss had not run for the office, there are all indications that Ftacnik would have had a good to very good chance in the presence of an appropriate "lobby." His possible election as chairman would have solved at least the fundamental problem which was within the jurisdiction of the congress—to finally have a "new face" at the head of the party. Even if that face had already been much "examined" and was close to the former chairman.

Another and still more important, and at the same time deeper, problem for the SDL, from which all others are derived, however, will not be resolved by any congress. This involves the character of policy and the actual values espoused by a portion of the membership and voter base. These values do not always happen to be in agreement with the direction being pursued by the new Weiss leadership. One brief period of sharing in a more or less decent government policy, one election failure, was sufficient for a substantial portion of former Communists to forget their "social democratic nature." Can Weiss (who is, let us say, capable of prevailing) or can any other leader rely on his fellow partisans who accuse him at the congress for being responsible that their former comrades in the HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia], ZRS [Association of Slovak Workers], and SNS [Slovak National Party] are destroying them at the okres level? The very existence of this "criticism" compels the response of: no.

This internal SDL schizophrenia will obtain as long as the chaos in the Slovak political scene exists—in other words, until the "natural" voters and sympathizers of the individual political parties and political concepts are scattered across the entire width of the political spectrum. In the case of the SDL, this means that not only its leadership, but its voter and membership base must be made aware of and must identify with the proclaimed social democratic direction of the party. Simply stated, the remainder belongs to Meciar and Luptak. From the standpoint of the progress of the entire congress, therefore, today's finding that the SDL is supported by

approximately 6 percent of the population is still not the same as the finding that those 6 percent support even social democratic values.

Contemporary Events in Historical Perspective

95CH0198A Bratislava MOSTY in Slovak 21 Feb 95 p 10

[Unattributed excerpt from a discussion with Peter Zajac, director, Institute of Literary Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences, published in the February issue of SLOVENSKE LISTY: "The Civilizational Development of Slovakia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The real situation in Slovakia is such that more than one-half of the population is rejecting economic transformation or is, at least, desirous of a substantially softer variant. More than half of the people in Slovakia believe that the previous system was better than the present one. Approximately half of the people believe that Slovakia should be part of the economic, security, and political structures of the West; another half do not believe so. Half of the people would wish for a more forthcoming policy with respect to the Hungarians; the other half wish for precisely the opposite. I believe that one could continue this way with respect to all of the more serious questions.

The result is that Slovakia is, in fact, a divided country, not only politically, but also in terms of culture and civilization. Here, two virtually different types of values are competing; there are different types of social and political conduct and people are attuned to two different civilizations—to the Western civilization and to the Eastern one. The 1994 elections became an expression of this dichotomy. Half of the citizens voted for the so-called nonstandard political parties. As far as substantive matters are concerned, the Association of Slovak Workers [ZRS] is rejecting everything which is connected with November 1989; the SNS [Slovak National Party] is rejecting any openness with respect to the rest of the world. To this day, the HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] represents the combination of social and national demagoguery. These parties are non-standard parties even where their political style and conduct is concerned.

We can anticipate that nonstandard groupings will, most likely, not increase in number. The parties which we have here represent a certain bottom and I do not see any room for the creation of additional political basements. And anyway, there are always only two basements: the nationalistic one and the social-demagogic one. In our country, one basement was occupied by the ZRS, the second by the SNS, and the HZDS has moved into both. The all-European development speaks for positive development in our country. If it continues as it has thus far, in the direction of creating common economic, security, and political structures, the nonstandard type of politics will not have superpower support, and to the extent to

which economic development in Slovakia will be positive, it will also lose domestic support for its confrontational political style. Its popularity will begin to decline, although it will certainly not be a rapid decline. But today, we are not capable of predicting the development of the situation in Russia and in Ukraine and we do not know how long the vacuum in central Europe will continue. Historical experience tells us that anarchy in our region never lasts more than 10 to 15 years and then this area becomes filled with power. Throughout history this area has always become filled either with West European influence or with East European influence. None other ever existed here. And we need not particularly emphasize the fact that West Europe is today the "standard" and East Europe the "nonstandard."

Next to Germany, the struggle between political systems and civilization is most noticeable in Slovakia. According to Huntington, Slovakia lies precisely at the seam of two civilizations. Even historically, the eastern border of Slovakia will, for the most part, also be the eastern border of Western civilization. This can be documented on the basis of the history of the churches, the history of settlement, and on the basis of the history of states. Historically, therefore, Slovakia belongs to Western civilization. On the other hand, in the last 150 years, a Slavophile ideology also came into being here which became a sort of messianic way out of poverty for romantics and particularly for Stur. Following the negative experiences of 1849, Stur dreamed up the vision of a great tsarist Russia, into which Slovakia would flow at the cost of losing its linguistic and cultural identity. This vision found expression in Slovakia for all of the 20th century in stronger or weaker form, experienced various reprises all the way through socialist metamorphosis, when Russia was repolarizing into the Soviet Union. If Huntington is right, then the Slovak struggle is the most transparent manifestation of the civilization struggle.

I would be happy if, within the rightist area, it were possible to create a decent partner for the KDH [Christian Democratic Movement] like the one the civic right talks about. If this were not to remain as some kind of intuition of the civic right, but rather if it began to create a clearly content- and program-oriented outline and effective organizational structures through which it would finally begin to address the public. Authoritative politics can only be countered by cooperation among democratic forces; never by making concessions, by appeasement, or through toleration of undemocratic methods. Only in this manner is it possible to assert the longtime and thus historically legitimate civilizational line of Slovakia into the future. But this is not only an ambition for 1995.

Ruthenian Codified as Literary Language

95CH0189A Kosice SLOVENSKY VYCHOD in Slovak 28 Jan 95 p 1

[Report by TA SR]

to law (allegedly so that privatization is not unnecessarily slowed down) decisions on privatization are not subject to review by the court, nor is it possible to appeal them.

In Slovak practice, however, it is possible to appeal, although not to the court but to a government other than the one which made the decision. And then bring in as an embellishment the supervisory commission of the National Council, in which there will be a deputy with a stake in the matter, whose wife's plan to privatize a factory was set aside by the preceding government. The SR government is even now rescinding "its" decisions when it wants to, and has assigned the factory to her again. Of the 13 re-approved projects, three have been already implemented according to the original decisions of the Meciar government (in two instances still during the course of the Moravcik government), for another six enterprises determinations are being readied according to the original intentions, in two instances court proceedings are under way, and in two other instances new owners will be sought. On the other hand, the government also rescinded 29 decisions of the Moravcik government, which, as the lawyers from the Ministry of Privatization found, could not be rescinded on the basis of the law passed by the SR National Council. But let's not try to guess in advance how much of it will be rescinded by the Constitutional Court, which agreed to examine the law of the National Council rescinding the decisions of the Moravcik government. For the time being, everything is in tune with the conditions that are slowly developing in Slovakia. What the foreign owners who have a stake in the cancelled projects, or those who might still feel like investing in SR, will say about it, is, of course, another matter.

Chief of Staff Views Army Today and Tomorrow
95CH0161A Bratislava APOLOGIA in Slovak Jan 95
pp 4-6

[Interviews with Colonel General Jozef Tuchyna, chief of the General Staff of the Army of the Slovak Republic, and Army Corps Commanders Colonel Milan Cerovsky of the General Staff, Colonel Jan Cmilansky, and Colonel Jozef Pivarci by jk and sj; place and date not given: "Our Army Today and Tomorrow"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We asked the chief of the General Staff of the Army of the Slovak Republic, Colonel General Eng. Jozef Tuchyna, to respond to several questions.

[APOLOGIA] How would you briefly evaluate the training year which has just passed?

[Tuchyna] Although I have only held the position of chief of the General Staff of the Army of the Slovak Republic since 1 September 1994, I have been consistently collaborating with my deputies, with the chiefs of staff of the ground forces, the Air Force and the Air Defense Forces, as well as with the chiefs of independent

directorates so that I have a thorough overview with regard to tasks which have been fulfilled and which have not been fulfilled.

Because you request a brief evaluation of the tasks, I shall begin with the order of the minister of defense of the Slovak Republic and I shall comment only on the most important aspects.

Our Army was constituted as an inseparable component of democratic society. Through its defensive doctrine and through the Partnership for Peace Program, it has expressly drawn closer to the European security structures.

The process of transforming the Army of the Slovak Republic proceeded in harmony with the strategic concept for the defense of the Slovak Republic and the concept of defending the development of the Army of the Slovak Republic through the year 2000. The realization of the principles contained in these documents made it possible to effectively utilize resources for defense.

Together with the ongoing reduction in force and equipment, organizational measures were created whose goal is to attain the limited manpower levels, together with the creation of optimum organizational structures and deployments for the Army of the Slovak Republic.

In terms of command and control work, the method of planning through individual levels of command and staff levels was understood, although no specific improvements in the quality of the entire system of command and control occurred. In terms of control activities, the uncovering of specific reasons for the persisting shortcomings, particularly in regard to relationships between soldiers in the basic service, was not successfully accomplished. Shortcomings occurred in the evaluation of tasks fulfilled and the level of personnel evaluation continued to lag. In the military discipline areas, the number of extraordinary events and criminal acts declined, but the assertion of measures designed to improve the level of regimentation, organization, and discipline for troops, particularly at the lowest levels of command, was not consistently successful.

In our foreign activities, we made efforts to gradually draw the Slovak Republic closer to the security structures of NATO and the West European Union. The Army of the Slovak Republic took an active part in UN peacekeeping missions.

In the area of developing the Army of the Slovak Republic, organizational and materiel prerequisites were created for the transition to new organizational structures. In conjunction with the concept for the development of the Army of the Slovak Republic through the year 2000, the tasks outlined in the first phase of transforming the Army, which were set to be accomplished in 1994, were fulfilled. There were problems in terms of personnel support for career soldiers at lower levels of command.

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava (TA SR)—The codification of the Ruthenian language in Slovakia was announced yesterday by the Coordination Committee for Ruthenian National Revival in Bratislava. In the presence of more than 50 citizens of the Ruthenian nationality, domestic and foreign guests, the chairman of the Ruthenian revival organization, Mikulas Las, gave the festive address. He stated that yesterday would be entered in the historical annals of the Ruthenian nationality in Slovakia in golden letters. Ruthenians, who have adequately identified themselves as an independent national minority in Slovakia, wish to assert the principles of democracy and tolerance. The process of reviving the Ruthenian national minority, which is an inseparable part of cultural and social happenings in Slovakia and which enriches these events, is deserving of moral as well as material support, said the chairman of the Ruthenian revival organization.

The director of the Alexander Duchnovic Theater in Presov, Jaroslav Sisak, read the declaration covering the codification of the Ruthenian language. In the declaration, it is stated that "Ruthenians in Slovakia were unable, for a long time, to officially use their mother tongue, to develop it, and to bring it to such a status that would permit children to be taught in that language in the schools, would allow newspapers, journals, and books to be published in the language, to have radio and television programs broadcast in that language, and to have the language used in the Ruthenian theater. The majority of Ruthenians did not accept the administratively imposed Ukrainian language as their mother tongue."

As of yesterday, the Ruthenian language has become the literary language for Ruthenians in Slovakia.

Changing Privatization Procedures Examined

95CH0203A Bratislava MOSTY in Slovak 21 Mar 95 p 8

[Article by Ivan Spani: "Privatization, the Slovak Way"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When in 1992 the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] took over the government for the first time, it was all set to verify and possibly even revise decisions on privatization, especially the suspicious direct sales to predesignated owners during the last days of Jan Carnogursky's government. Then it even brought out various facts about properties sold far below their value in the direct sales, but it did not cancel any. The government only revised a single, not yet implemented decision on the privatization of the state enterprise Danubiaprint which in the end has remained state-owned to this day, and it took away licenses to evaluate properties from some specialized organizations.

In March 1994, the Moravcik government rescinded 13 decisions—and later a 14th—on privatization made by the preceding Meciar government. Officially not because it caused indignation among the public when in the last

few days before stepping down—in fact even during the night a few moments after stepping down—the Meciar government sold some enterprises cheaply to party cronies on the recommendation of party cronies; not because an enterprise was to go to the wife of a deputy and honorary chairman of the party on the recommendation of his chairman, or the Piestany spa to an individual with an alleged silent ministerial partner, or because the announced public bidding was cancelled and replaced with direct sales.... (Anyway, if the government wants, it can sell an enterprise to whomever it chooses just for one koruna....)

The Moravcik government explained its action by saying that it found certain legal and substantive flaws in the resolutions of the previous government. For example, that the government should have adapted the plan before, not after, approving it, that the plan was not complete, or the name of the buyer of the property was not clear or precise. The legal and substantive flaws in those projects were noted also by the committee for privatization of the then National Council of the Slovak Republic [SR]. It pointed out not only inconsistencies with the laws, but also with the objectives and declarations of the government which it did not follow in practice.

A government can, in general, change its decisions and need not even justify it. Merely a change of its political view on the matter would be enough. However, the presently valid law on privatization says that a decision on privatization can be changed only in those instances where after the decision has been rendered important facts come to light which were not known at the time the decision on privatization was rendered, and which would have had substantive influence on the original decision. Perhaps it was precisely in order to avoid wasting time by substantiating these "new facts" that the postelection coalition group rescinded with a single law all the decisions of the Moravcik government (at issue are 54 decisions) adopted since 6 September 1994—including those five or six on which the SR National Property Fund already had time to close sales contracts. And the other way around. Meciar's coalition government also rescinded the resolution of its predecessor concerning the 13 rescinded decisions. Naturally, the Meciar government did not find any substantive flaws in them now since it approved them a few months earlier.

Both the Moravcik government and today the Meciar government—as the executive bodies—have pronounced judgments on what is and what is not in accord with the law (now one way, now the other way). In democratic countries the executive, judiciary, and legislative powers are clearly separated. Therefore, only the independent court can decide what is and what is not in accord with the law. Here, such matters are deliberated by the committee of the SR National Council as part of the legislature, and the decision is made by the executive branch, the government! But—a paradox of our democracy, this time inherited from the federation—according

In the area of combat and mobilizational readiness, success was recorded in terms of perfecting the system of increasing troop awareness through exercises and verification of combat readiness, in assuring readiness for the transition to higher degrees of combat readiness.

The training of reserves in the training base of peace-keeping forces reached the desired level; financial resources were lacking for other training.

In the area of training commanders and staffs, the principles of planning were mastered, as were the utilization and management of troops in a defensive operation. Cooperation between staffs, directorates, and departments within the new organizational structure of the strategic and tactical level was practiced. Commanders and staffs of the tactical command level of the ground forces became familiar with the principles of conducting a defensive combat operation. They mastered the principles of planning the redeployment of units and were partially successful in coordinating the combat activities of the Air Force and the ground forces. Noncommissioned officers succeeded in improving their specialized preparedness; the elimination of shortcomings in commanding subordinates was not successful; neither was success recorded in precisely and strictly demanding the performance of duties, of tightening discipline, and of improving mutual relationships among soldiers.

In troop training, divisions, regiments, and units of the ground forces mastered the principles of combat at the battalion, company, and squad level. Improvements were achieved in the quality of training and coordination between units up to battalion level as well as in terms of training individuals to fulfill tasks. Squad and battalion tactical training, including combat firing exercises, was accomplished well. The tasks of preparing members of the Army of the Slovak Republic for UN duty were fulfilled.

Fulfillment of tasks by the Air Force and the Air Defense Forces was accomplished under complicated conditions involved in the preparations for redeployment within the framework of the Slovak Republic. Through increased efforts, the desirable level of combat readiness was achieved in subordinate units, as was the safety of aviation training. Given the low number of flying hours, however, not all tasks of aviation training involving the combat use of the Air Force were fulfilled.

In the social management area, the specialized preparation level of employees engaged in social science services in the corps of commanding officers lagged behind the requirement that subordinates be trained, particularly in terms of applying motivational and stimulatory instruments. Satisfactory conditions for the development of cultural activities were successfully created. Organized physical training contributed to increasing mobility among soldiers as well as civilian employees. Centers sponsoring key sports contributed to the fact that the

Army of the Slovak Republic and the Slovak Republic itself were well-represented in the area of sports.

The development of cooperation between the Army and society improved the amount of information available to citizens regarding events in the Army. The main emphasis was placed upon firming up contacts with state institutions, associations, and the churches.

In logistics, the unified management of the entire system of materiel and technical support for troops was gradually provided for. However, financial resources were adequate only to provide for the basic conditions of life for the troops. Budget reductions accounted for increasing the deficit with regard to wear and tear on the facilities and installations of the Army of the Slovak Republic. In housing construction, the requirements of the commanding officer corps of the Army of the Slovak Republic were partially met.

In health care, at every level health care assistance became accessible to all troops on active duty, including specialized assistance. Under demanding economic conditions, the military hospitals and Military Institutes for Pulmonary Diseases were successfully transferred to contributory organizations. Legislative support for health insurance was finalized. Regular veterinary-hygienic supervision and fulfillment of other preventive measures resulted in the prevention of the outbreak of mass illnesses among the troops.

Financial and economic support for the Army of the Slovak Republic was accomplished on the basis of specific budgetary resources, in accordance with the principles of utility and rationality.

Even despite the fact that the Army found itself in complicated transformation conditions, it did fulfill the tasks of the training year.

[APOLOGIA] What are the principal tasks for the Army of the Slovak Republic in 1995?

[Tuchyna] In management work, particularly in planning, the creation of conditions for the gradual transition toward asserting methods of planning, programming, and budgeting. Emphasis is to be placed on having tasks penetrate to executors and creating conditions for their fulfillment. At the lowest levels of command, emphasis will be placed on achieving a fundamental turnaround in the demanding nature and quality of management involved with the activities of units.

In organizing control activities, conditions are to be created to facilitate the work of subordinates such that commanders and chiefs at all levels would have sufficient documentation to be able to evaluate their subordinates and to facilitate management activity itself. The causes of negative manifestations will have to be more consistently uncovered, the perpetrators of such manifestations and of criminal activities are to be prosecuted.

In analytical activities, evaluations are to be implemented from level to level, including personnel evaluation involving commanders and chiefs. By tightening up military discipline, good conditions are to be provided for the organized fulfillment of tasks in regiments and units. The military police are to be used to support fulfillment of tasks based on the Military Police Law, on the amended Criminal Law, and the Criminal Code.

The preparedness of soldiers in the basic service is to be increased with emphasis on oversight and guard duty. Practical training of soldiers for activities including their weapons is to be improved from the standpoint of quality.

The tightening of mutual relationships between soldiers on active duty and increasing the confidence of soldiers in the basic service in their commanders is to be considered as decisive. In foreign activities, procedures are to be harmonized with the goals of foreign policy being pursued by the Slovak Republic, on the basis of multi-lateral or bilateral plans of cooperation between the Army of the Slovak Republic with foreign armies. Emphasis is to be placed on development of collaboration within the framework of the Partnership for Peace Program, with emphasis on collaborating with the armies of neighboring countries. Fulfillment of tasks based on international agreements, conventions, resolutions, and humanitarian and military law is to be continued.

In personnel work, tasks to be fulfilled are based on the Concept of Personnel Work in the Army of the Slovak Republic. Principal efforts are to be aimed at supporting reorganizational changes.

In the area of informatics and automation of command, the development of the automated information system for the Army of the Slovak Republic is to continue. The automated transmission and processing of information which is decisive for management at the level of the Ministry of Defense of the Slovak Republic—General Staff of the Army of the Slovak Republic is to be achieved.

The main goals of military science policy are to be established, carrier programs for development of science in defense are to be identified, and intensive development of scientific work is to be supported.

In the area of protecting secret facts, valid regulations and principles of the filing and archival service are to be adhered to in recordkeeping and in handling written materials. In information systems, the transmission of information is to be safeguarded through the use of program and technical protection.

In the area of protecting the property of the military directorate, such protection is to be increased through preventive and control activities. Emphasis is to be placed on reducing the number of losses and incidents of

damage and on improving the quality of the process involved in reparation actions.

Development of the Army of the Slovak Republic should continue through realization of the first phase of the Concept for Developing the Army of the Slovak Republic Through the Year 2000. Principal emphasis should be placed on consistent reorganization involving the ground forces as well as logistics.

In the area of combat and mobilizational readiness, tasks should be worked out for the peaceful status and preliminary measures should be worked out with the goal of reducing the number and improving the efficiency of forces and resources designated to support the transition of the military from a peaceful status to a wartime status, taking into account the military-political situation in Europe and the reorganizational changes within the Army of the Slovak Republic.

Through commanders and staffs of the Army of the Slovak Republic, master the method of directing a mobilization while making the transition to new organizational structures. Support should be provided for the reliability and resistance of the military mail delivery system.

Reserve training should be aimed at training in military occupational specialties that are in short supply, mobilization reserves of the first and second replacement sequence should be retrained, and the training of soldiers in the reserve who are predestined to be assigned to UN peacekeeping forces is to continue.

A new plan for the tactical utilization of the Army of the Slovak Republic is to be worked out in harmony with reorganizational changes in this Army. The realization of measures outlined in the Plan for Tactical Preparation of the State Territory for the Years 1995-97 should be begun.

In training commanders and staffs at the strategic and tactical level, basic principles and principles of strategic and tactical use of troops and command organs of the Army of the Slovak Republic should be worked out. In all forms of training for commanders and staffs, the general principles of the military art are to be asserted and should begin to be applied.

A beginning should be made regarding the preparation of new tactical regulations with emphasis on planning and conduct of operations and combat by an army corps and brigade.

Commanders and staffs at tactical levels are to be trained to independently organize, direct, and universally support combat operations with an emphasis on an active and resistant defense and upon mutual collaboration among arms of service.

Commanders and staffs of the Air Force and the Air Defense Forces are to gradually master activities within the new organizational structure. Attention should be

focused on fulfilling tasks in defensive operations, on cooperating with ground forces, on the execution of aerial reconnaissance, on the comprehensive solution of safeguarding the combat activities of the Air Force and the Air Defense Forces, and on tasks involved in joint planning with staffs of the ground forces.

The training of noncommissioned officers should be focused on familiarity with the principles of commanding subordinates during the fulfillment of training goals, supporting discipline and the daily regime of the troops. The training of specialists should be aimed at increasing their practical habits in handling weapons and combat equipment.

In the area of troop training, the way in which divisions and regiments of the ground forces take up defensive positions should be perfected; the creation of such positions, the organization of collaboration, and the conduct of a defensive battle should also be perfected. Their habits in organizing a system of fire, utilizing engineer facilities to create defenses, and utilizing flexible maneuvers involving forces and resources are to be strengthened.

In the Air Force and the Air Defense Forces, units are to be trained to fulfill tasks within the new organizational structures and to support the required level of combat readiness. Emphasis is to be placed on the practical fulfillment of tasks involving combat utilization with a focus on fulfilling live-ammunition fire requirements. To improve the character and safety of flying personnel, the number of flying hours per individual pilot is to be increased.

In physical training, the physical and psychological preparedness of troops should continue to be increased, as should the level of resistance in the face of difficult situations and the preparedness of soldiers to master demanding combat situations.

In the social and humanities area, the transformation of the system of social management into an area of education and culture under conditions of the new organizational structure of the Army of the Slovak Republic should be based on perfecting its content, forms, and methods which should bring about increased responsibility and readiness on the part of members of the Army to fulfill the tasks of the training year.

Through consistent recognition of sociopsychological manifestations in units, regiments, and installations of the Army of the Slovak Republic, their analysis and practical utilization in control activities on the part of commanders at all levels, an improvement should be achieved in the level of military preparedness. The concepts of psychological activities as outlined in the forthcoming Directives of the Minister of Defense of the Slovak Republic for Psychological Activities should be realized.

Patriotic and ethical education should be used to support the development of the mental culture of members of the

Army, should be used to form and firm up a national awareness and patriotic feeling, a feeling of civic responsibility for the defense of the country, for its territorial integrity and sovereignty. Conditions should be created to facilitate the introduction of ecclesiastical services in the Army of the Slovak Republic. Soldiers and civilian employees should learn to master the basic legal standards applicable in the Army of the Slovak Republic and should become familiar with international conventions within the system of legal training.

The conditions for meeting the social needs of members of the Army of the Slovak Republic and their family members should be improved. By channeling the quality of the cultural process, the level of behavior and conduct on the part of Army members is to be cultivated.

The sports representation of the Slovak Republic is to be supported at a high level.

The process of transforming military education is to be culminated and the development of an appropriate learning-training base of military schools is to be supported. In conjunction with the defense doctrine of the Slovak Republic, the teaching programs are to be modified.

In the area of Army collaboration with the public, planned cooperation with social organizations through councils of commanders charged with collaborating with the public is to be developed. Forms of making information more accessible to the civilian public are to continue.

In logistics, functionally organizational structures are to be created at all levels of command and unified management of the entire system is to be developed.

The purposeful utilization of allocated resources is to be used in support of priority activities which assure the defense capability of the Slovak Republic, which support reorganization and redeployment, and which support the life and training of troops. In the supply end and in the technical support area, the number of managed classes of materiel is to be reduced, new services are to be created to comprehensively solve the supply and technical problems for the military.

Effective measures are to be adopted to reduce the impact of military activities upon the environment.

Damage and losses involving equipment and materiel are to be reduced.

Conditions for the realization of outfitting troops in accordance with the newly adopted Concept for Outfitting the Army of the Slovak Republic are to be created.

The reorganization of the organs of the construction and housing service at lower levels of command is to continue and the technical status and the ability to operate on the part of basic funds of facilities is to be maintained. In capital construction, housing under construction is to be completed, as are decisive projects which support the combat capabilities of the Air Force and the Air Defense Forces.

In health care, the level of health care at the military level is to be increased by raising the quality of health worker training and by improving the material-technical equipment at the disposal of health care.

Regular and demanding hygienic, epidemiological, and veterinary oversight is to be used to protect the health of soldiers.

The reorganization of veterinary units and the development of canine installations are to be used to improve the quality of veterinary care in the Army of the Slovak Republic.

Principal attention in financial-economic support is to be focused on the area of budgetary management, where provisions are to be made for the economic, purposeful, and utilitarian utilization of budgetary resources and their proportionate drawing at all command levels.

Financial standards which are essential for the planning of operational expenditures within the system of planning, programming, and budgeting are to be worked out.

The utilization of budgetary resources is to be focused upon supporting operational needs and troop training, with priority being assigned to service pay and wages paid to individuals, social security payments, and material expenditures for maintenance and repair. In the course of the year, regulatory provisions are to be consistently adhered to.

In the area of social security and health insurance within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Defense and in conjunction with the preparation and approval of general regulations, independent social security for career soldiers is to be finalized. Preparation for social security benefits for employees of the state service is to be a shared problem and an amendment to the Law on Military Health Insurance is to be prepared.

[APOLOGIA] What do you wish for members of the Army of the Slovak Republic at the conclusion of last year and at the beginning of the New Year?

[Tuchyna] I wish to thank all members of the General Staff, all commanders and chiefs of staff of corps-level units and formations and facilities for the effort they expended in fulfilling the tasks in 1994.

I wish good health, much success in their work to all members of the Army of the Slovak Republic, and I wish that they would establish good interpersonal relationships at their workplaces which are based on mutual respect and confidence, job satisfaction, as well as satisfaction in their family life.

[APOLOGIA] We asked all corps commanders a question which is very topical for our Army today and tomorrow.

How will you ensure that members of your organization will become professional not only from the standpoint of

their work, but also from the standpoint of the quality of the professional-specialized level?

How did they respond?

Colonel Eng. Milan Cerovsky of the General Staff, Commander of the 1st Army Corps of the Army of the Slovak Republic:

In the first place, I would stress that this requirement is not a new one. It is being passed through as a result of the continuity of the functioning of the previous organizational structure. It places some new demands upon the current organizational level, primarily upon the work of the members of the commanding officer corps from the standpoint of its standing within the structure of the Army of the Slovak Republic. That is why my functioning as a commander or the functioning of the entire staff cannot be judged separately, but must be viewed in coordination with the functioning of the General Staff of the Army of the Slovak Republic as well as the Ministry of Defense of the Slovak Republic.

There is one other thing here which we cannot circumvent. It is the current professional level of members of the 1st Army Corps. Together with other members of the Army of the Slovak Republic, I had the opportunity of visiting several countries and their armies, predominantly those of the West. I value the findings I made and evaluate their level as being positive. But I want to say that not even we have anything of which to be ashamed. We have a predominantly well-prepared officer corps and troops. I do not wish to say that it is not necessary to contemplate additional quality improvements in our level.

The system of training for our troops and staffs has been well-thought-out. In my opinion, it does not require any structural changes. We adjust the content side of the training as necessary. The commanders of the corps must, in the immediate future, learn to master the new requirements for the operational level of command, primarily the operational art, as well as operational direction and universal support. A certain break in comparison with Western armies is the level of our language preparedness. It is not overly necessary to stress the kind of problem presented by language capabilities and this is not only applicable in the Army. Although the last year has made it possible to acquire the basics of Western languages in schools, in practice, however, people did not have the opportunity to develop their language skills—with the exception of Russian, which means very little today.

The majority of our commanders and staff officials understand the necessity to educate themselves in languages as well because sooner or later they will need this skill. Contacts with foreign armies are expanding. Within the framework of the division, which is now a corps, we organized short-term after-hours courses in English and German, which we would like to continue. In contrast to the previous era, more people are taking

individual language training. Together with foreign contacts, the entire level of language preparedness is rising.

The Ministry of Defense and the General Staff—specifically its chief, Col. Gen. Eng. Jozef Tuchyna—are developing maximum efforts to achieve an increase in the level of language preparedness. We all know that mastery of a language is not a simple matter. The active knowledge of a language requires long-term training—best accomplished abroad. For the present, our staff cannot afford to train all of the necessary people within a short time.

The chief of the General Staff of the Army of the Slovak Republic included a task in the directives for 1995 which calls for higher-ranking officers and generals of the Army of the Slovak Republic to acquire an annual quantity of 800-1,000 words in selected Western languages gradually, in short-term courses, as well as through independent study, to be followed by a final examination at the end of the year. The task was accepted with bewilderment; in some cases, even negatively, because it is demanding. But let us ask the question as to how to overcome this obstacle in this situation by the fastest way? After all, it is one of the important prerequisites for actual entry into Europe and for the Army into European security structures.

From the standpoint of training our commanders, there is the requirement to increase the time available for practical training in the field, particularly group and command exercises. We acquired this experience during the military exercises which were conducted this year and also last year.

We found shortcomings in work involving maps in the field, in using communications media in exercising command under complicated conditions of the combat training situation and in fire control. If I have paused with respect to the training of commanders and staffs, I want to stress that all interested components are exerting maximum effort in this area. With the exception of the category of squad commanders, crew commanders, and gun crews, the attained level of preparedness is very good. This may be surprising, but it is so.

This is confirmation of the fact that our commanders and staffs are predominantly demanding and responsible people who are more responsive to the requirements of the announced defense interests of our republic than one would expect today, although some people frequently operate only within the boundaries of strictly outlined duties. Perhaps I will be immodest if I say that the concept of "homeland"—frequently desecrated both in the past and also today—has a true basis in the actions of many of our people. I take the liberty of documenting this, for example, on the basis of conditions under which our people work. From the Army side, there are never any voices heard calling for increased pay. We understand the situation in society, but will this situation persist even in the long run? And if so, how long?

The personnel situation in our formations is not a good one. Platoon commander positions are staffed only at about 50-60 percent. It is not a rare event to find that a company does not have a single platoon commander—a career soldier, one who has a particular specialty based on armored or mechanized arms of service. In the immediate future, military schools are also not expected to provide many young officers. At the higher staff levels, some 60-80 percent of the positions are staffed; at department and group levels, staffing is sometimes even substantially lower.

Last year, the Army Command decided to professionalize some of the functions of squad commanders and drivers of combat equipment and, in this way, increase the readiness of the lowest levels of command even for reasons of shortening the period of basic military service. What are the results today? Despite the current measure of unemployment in Slovakia, we were compelled to engage in recruitment. We sent written proposals to all labor offices and even sent personal letters to our former soldiers. It seems that the labor market is somehow not functioning. Of the entire total of those people who registered, only 50 percent showed up for actual interviews. Of this number, another 50 percent failed to negotiate the selection process. We want to take on more than 90 people, but if we get at least half of them we will be content. It is obviously better to be unemployed than to function as a squad commander in the Army. We would like for this to be different.

In terms of training commanders and staffs, it is necessary to note yet another phenomenon which has caused us and continues to cause us problems. These are the requirements for the level of education of people. It has turned out for some time now that it is not possible for everyone to know and master everything. Tests and verifications have shown that we demanded a lot of people. We have already worked out some so-called professiongrams covering several basic functions. We are now beginning to process similar requirements for the other functions in our organizational structure.

It can be said that we lack the necessary quantity of knowledge in the area of the law, in the area of new legal standards, in international humanitarian law, but also in terms of ethics and Slovak history. It will be desirable even for Slovaks to give more contemplation to the concept of nation, country—something about which I have already spoken. This entire area in the Army is being subjected to specific transformation. Training documents for the year 1995 include these requirements in all categories. In addition to utilizing trained specialists in our ranks, we shall make use of civilian lecturers, including those from the churches. Ecclesiastical services have been introduced into the Army.

Permit me to briefly mention the previously discussed foreign activities. In 1994, these activities occupied a place in our work which was not negligible. We are attempting to confront our findings with experiences

gathered through foreign activities in all areas. This is exhausting work, but we understand the need for it. A novelty was the participation of our small units in exercises abroad, particularly in Holland, where we got several new looks at using the army in peacekeeping operations and in assisting the population in various peacetime situations and when the state was being threatened. In 1995, we shall continue these activities, including exchange exercises on our territory involving participation by several neighboring European countries.

It would be possible to more broadly analyze the requirements for the professional level of the members of the 1st Corps. But I wanted to point out the actual status and mention the points of departure which we will adopt on the basis of the analysis conducted last year. We are aware of what we still do not have to promote improved professional levels, we are aware of what we lack, and we are seeking specific methods for improving, methods of how to enter European structures as equal partners.

Col. Eng. Jan Cmilansky, Commander of the 2d Army Corps of the Army of the Slovak Republic:

The problem of a military professional in contemporary history has been addressed by the Army since the establishment of the independent Slovak Republic. What is detrimental to this aspect is primarily the fact that the legislative process still has not matured to the stage where it establishes standards which modify the requirements placed on a military professional in an obligatory manner. Such a fundamental legal standard would serve as an initial document regulating the fundamental requirements levied on career soldiers in developing the new officer corps, as well as regulating requirements levied upon the existing officer corps.

The career soldier is a representative of the system which is based on the principle of buying and selling human combat forces. Although this definition expresses the relationship of an individual with the Army as an employee, it perceives employment to be a relationship in which work activities are regularly undertaken in order to acquire the resources which are inevitable for the satisfaction of living expenses with a view to the individual.

Today, it is very difficult to agree that every soldier is a professional. In specifying the categories of professionals, we must begin with the concept which is not based on a legal labor relationship, but from the standpoint of specialized, moral, physical, and other requirements levied on professional soldiers, which, for the time being, are academic in character. The labor law relationships of a career soldier are outlined in the law covering several service conditions for soldiers (complete text of Law No. 361/1992 Zb. [Collection of Laws]). By entering military service, a career soldier does not automatically become a professional, because the process from which he must graduate is a long-term one and can be said to be endless because it is based on consistency in training.

A military professional must, in the first place, be an actual specialist, a virtual expert in mastering the weapons of his arm of service, in the functions he performs. Motivation is a no less essential element. This should consist of love for one's own technical capabilities, a feeling of social commitment to use this capability to benefit society. However, motivation must be materially stimulated, because it is the engine that drives all human activity—in other words, also the military professional. Under our conditions, the corps Command has dealt with and is consistently dealing with the question of professionalization. We are working out the status of the military professional, which has two fundamental levels.

On the first level are career soldiers who are in direct contact with other soldiers, that is to say, commanders of platoons, companies, battalions, and regiments.

The second level includes military professionals who are in brokered contact with other soldiers, that is to say, chiefs of the supply services, chiefs of arms of service and other services. From this group, an independent subgroup is identified such as physicians, lawyers, financial services, veterinary services, and other support services.

It is not possible to stipulate equal obligatory requirements for professionalization for all of these groups across-the-board. It is necessary to specifically differentiate as to which group must fulfill which kinds of demands.

In general, it is possible to compile a basic criterion for a military professional according to the following indications:

- A high degree of specialization at the specific level of assignment.
- A high degree of physical fitness. This involves a value curve compiled by age and rank. The highest requirements will be for a commander who is in direct contact with troops.
- Direct personal responsibility.
- Obligatory identification of jurisdiction.
- General knowledge of national and military history.
- Appropriate knowledge of basic scientific disciplines—over and above the framework of the basic specialty of the service rank held.
- Knowledge of foreign languages for selected services and categories.

These kinds of general indications as to what constitutes a military professional make it possible to compile a basic definition of a military professional.

It is desirable to work out the following definitions:

- The definition of a noncommissioned officer in long-term service.
- The definition of a regimental sergeant major.
- The definition of a noncommissioned officer.
- The definition of a higher-ranking officer.
- The definition of a general (the rank of colonel should

be included in this definition).

These documents should be considered to be the foundation of professional honor. In addition to these documents, the basic standing orders for the armed forces should also include professional requirements for soldiers in the basic service.

These can be based on Order No. 80240, issued by the commander of the 14th Motorized Division, which stipulates the fundamental functional duties. Orientation should emphasize mastery of basic training, which is the springboard for additional professionalization.

In functions requiring professional dexterity, an independent system for remuneration, over and above the framework of basic pay and emoluments, should be proposed. However, this requires the rescission of the old regulation and working out a new regulation governing the course of service for soldiers in the basic service.

These basic theoretical points of departure, according to the findings and opinions of members of the 2d Army Corps Command, are sufficient to give rise to new points of departure in forming a new defender of the country—a military professional in the Army of the Slovak Republic.

The concept of building up the Army is not a simple one or one that can be easily mastered. It demands the recognition of the need for services on the part of our lowest organizational structure, that is to say, the squad, the platoon, the company, the battalion, the brigade, or the Army corps, all the way through to the General Staff and to the Ministry of Defense. Even in the face of these facts, it is necessary, and even outright urgent, that the service terms for soldiers be regulated by law. This basic legal standard should lead to new concepts and the gradual introduction into the Army of new requirements as they can be derived from the above.

Col. Eng. Jozef Pivarci, Commander of the 3d Army Corps of the Air Force and the Air Defense Forces:

The professionalization of the Army is an objective necessity based on the ever increasing complexity of weapons systems, on the shortening of the term of basic service which limits the possibilities for acquiring theoretical knowledge, practical experiences, and, last but not least, on the limited financial resources allocated to the Army.

The starting status of the professional level in the 3d Corps of the Air Force and the Air Defense Forces is not an optimal one. After dividing the Army, the Air Force inherited more than 50 percent of the untrained pilots, very young technical personnel, and a very young officer corps. We absolutely cannot say that the status of the facilities on airfields, in barracks, and the social conditions for professional soldiers, as well as basic service

troops which were acquired by our personnel, are suitable for the professional performance of service obligations.

The situation is somewhat better in the Air Defense Forces because they were deployed on the territory of the Slovak Republic as far back as the time of the federation and were created by professionally brave and experienced commanders who wanted to serve on Slovak territory, who had passed through tough training and tough conditions which existed in the readiness system. But there are even problems here. Few commanders have experience involving live firing, radar equipment is rapidly becoming obsolete....

This is only a very brief characterization of the status in a part of the Army which has the highest degree of professionalization.

But I shall return to the question. According to its content, it is clear that we have the same view of the concept of a military professional. A career soldier or a long-service soldier does not automatically become a professional by concluding a legal employment agreement or by finishing his studies. He becomes a professional only through consistent deepening of theoretical knowledge which he tests in practice, in training; he forges his positive relationship with his profession, his arm of service, his weapons, the Army, and his country.

We cannot narrow down the concept of a professional only to officers and regimental sergeant majors. There are many soldiers among those in the basic service who prove capable of becoming professionals even during the present abbreviated term of basic service. We also cannot omit the civilian employees of the military directorate.

Each of these groups has its own method of thinking, motivation, and action.

I see my role as a commander in setting a goal, creating optimum conditions for life and work, motivating people not only through just and optimum use of financial resources, but also through a fair evaluation of their results, through well-thought-out and objective personnel work, through the creation of room for creative thinking, a dialogue, and self-realization.

I do not want to lead anyone by the hand and I do not do so. On the contrary. The situation not only in the formations of the Air Force and the Air Defense Forces, but in the entire Army is complicated. I am not afraid to say that it is virtually critical. I am convinced that only such an approach with respect to subordinates is the way toward mastery of additional problems and tasks. It is such an approach that shapes and creates a professional.

At the same time, I too am formed. I must work on myself constantly because it is not simple to lead a dialogue with people who operate in this manner.

Good results are possibly achieved only through the efforts of compact collectives which comprehend the set goals and tasks. This is important all the more so today when there is a shortage of resources for organized education. But this cannot be narrowed down only to the professional side. It is necessary to intensively study languages so that opportunities for communicating with other armies would be created more rapidly and so that the room for more rapid transition toward professionalism could be expanded.

I see additional opportunities in closer collaboration with the civilian sector. The present situation in Europe requires that a transition be made to the method of directing air operations as they are applied in civilian life. Of course, with a view toward the military specialty. There is no need to invent things that have already been invented and tested. I see this as one of the most important factors for increasing the safety of flying in a situation in which budgetary resources for defense are at a low level.

The further optimization of organizational structures is inevitable; it must be based on changes in internal standards, regulations, and laws from the very beginning. Not the way things have been thus far. Even the current components could be functional, but it is precisely because of the delays in creating standards that the enthusiasm of people is being killed. I see one of the ways for resolving this problem in involving the specialized capacities which exist in military schools in the creation of legislative and standardization documents, because it is precisely their potential that is today completely unutilized.

I am convinced that the entire complex of the indicated problems will make it possible for every level of command to be left with room to seek its own solutions so that even the members of the 3d Corps and the Air Defense Forces would become actual military professionals.

Lack of Housing, Leaders in Artillery Viewed
95CH0164E Bratislava REPUBLIKA (OBRANA supplement) in Slovak 11 Feb 95 p 5

[Article by Jozef Ziak: "What Moves the Artillerymen in Brezno?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During the last five years not a single apartment was built in the Brezno garrison. But additional people have been coming to the regiment, and that led more or less inevitably to a problem of where to house them. At first glance, that was nothing unusual. After all, to a lesser or greater extent every garrison in Slovakia wrestles with similar problems.

Only the method of solving them is different. The people in the regiment made use of their traditionally good relations with municipal authorities. But even that was not enough. And so they looked around the vicinity of the town. It paid off.

After discussions with the Cierny Balog Forestry Works they secured five apartments, and from the Benus Forestry Works another two apartments. "We already looked everywhere in the vicinity of the town. The remaining needs of the regiment, considering also its reorganization into a brigade, can be solved only by the construction of our own military housing unit. We are talking about approximately 40 apartments. That would solve our housing problem for a time," said the commander of the regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Vladimir Neupauer.

Related precisely to the reorganization were the fears of some career military men that they will lose their positions. Gradually, as the outlines of the reorganization began to get clearer, the fears abated.

The regimental headquarters announced that all those who are interested in working will have a job. Even if they naturally understand reorganization also as an opportunity for a more realistic evaluation and comparison of the real needs and efficiency of people in various functions. Whoever is not afraid of work, need not fear for it, either. Even though not everyone will perform exactly the same function after the reorganization that they have been performing until now.

"I am very pleased that for the first time in my military career I find myself in a situation where we have the possibility ourselves to create an organizational structure that will make the future brigade viable. We did it according to the best of our knowledge and conscience. Let's hope that our proposals will be accepted. I am glad that our superiors did not go about the reorganization the way it was done in the past. Meaning, without knowing the specific situation, without taking into account the realistic possibilities and needs of the units," said the colonel, expressing his approbation of the current plans for reorganizing the regiment into a brigade system.

But even he cannot solve the main problem which they face in Brezno every day—lack of commanders. It is especially felt among the platoon leaders. And those are precisely the ones who come most often in contact with the conscripts. Not many are coming from the military schools, and when there is sometimes even a lack of battery commanders, the demands on those who are in the units increase. That, of course, does nothing to improve the quality of the training. Commanders often cannot use up their leave or their time off duty....

For example, battery commander First Lieutenant Ivan Majchut should have three officers and one warrant officer at his disposal. In reality, however, he has, besides himself, only one neophyte officer and one warrant officer.

"If one wants to get everything done, one does not have much free time left. Unfortunately, not even for one's personal improvement. It can go on this way for a while, but sooner or later it will be detrimental to the quality of

the training of the subordinates," the battery commander comments on the current unsatisfactory situation. Even in spite of the fact that he often gets help from the unit. But all that is just patching things over, not a solution to the problem.

That solution should be the arrival of new commanders from military schools. However, in Brezno they are not sitting on their hands. Recently they signed up three former conscripts who served in basic service. They selected them themselves from the regiment and prepared them step by step for officer examinations. In the opinion of the regiment commander, they have better prospects for a good performance in service than officers fresh from school. They chose their own profession and the unit commanders in turn chose them.

Under the present circumstances, when a soldier serves outside his or a neighboring region, a certain solidarity and cooperation between artillery units would also be of help, in the opinion of the deputy commander of the regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Milan Milosovic. How does he envisage it? Let's say, for example, that a young man from Brezno is serving in Senica. There they discover that he has a possibility of becoming a platoon leader. They support the young man, motivate him, and before he leaves for the reserves, they prepare him for officer examinations. And, of course, they call to Brezno, where a position is made ready for him. And that, in his opinion, should go both ways.

Establishment of Militia Opposed

95CH0196A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 21 Mar 95 p 4

[Article by Timea Spitkova: "Is 'Home Guard' a Meciar Militia?"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bratislava—Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar is pressing for the establishment of a *Domobrana* (Home Guard), which his opponents and some civil-rights groups fear might come to resemble a paramilitary front.

In its attempt to strengthen Slovakia's security, parliament approved a state budget March 7 increasing funds for the military. The budget came under fire from the opposition as major slashes were made in most other areas, including education, health care and social services.

According to the government, there is a need to restructure and strengthen Slovakia's defense units, and a key role will be played by the newly created *Domobrana*, a small but well-equipped force.

"The predominant part of the force would be deployed for emergency defense of the state with the goal of protection of buildings, equipment, areas and sections of border regions where army units will not be active," said Jan Repasky, an official with the Ministry of Defense.

Opponents and human-rights activists have questioned the government's intentions and warned that the formation of a militia, independent from the army and not under the control of the president, could become a source of human-rights violations.

"The *Domobrana* is not necessary," said Josef Drozd, president of the Slovak Union for Peace and Human Rights. "I cannot imagine what it would be used for."

Drozd said he fears that the *Domobrana's* purpose would be to eradicate public agitation and to curb demonstrations.

Members of the opposition have expressed concerns over the discipline of the new unit, which may be permitted to keep arms at home. The command of the new unit is also an issue, as the Home Guard would be under the direction of the prime minister while the regular military would be overseen by the office of the president.

According to the leader of the opposition Christian Democratic Movement, Jan Carnogursky, Slovaks should be wary about this split in military command.

"Experience from the former Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union says the greatest crimes against civilians are committed by various types of militias that were formed by political parties or regional units," he said.

The strongest opposition to the government proposal, however, has come from the Hungarian minority. "This is a dangerous thing," said the Hungarian Coexistence Party's Laszlo Molnar. "The *Domobrana* could be used against the Hungarian minority if it finds them to be the enemy."

The creation of the *Domobrana* is part of a string of actions taken by Meciar that have evoked hostility from the opposition parties and human-rights groups. They fear he is consolidating power in his hands.

Following the resignation of the leaders of the secret service, parliament approved an amendment to the law governing the Slovak Information Service March 6, transferring the power to appoint its director from the president to the prime minister.

The move to bring the service under Meciar's wing was criticized by President Michal Kovac, who said there is a need for a stronger guarantee of the division of powers.

Bokros Talks With EBRD Leaders in London

LD0904201895 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 9 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The international financial community has adopted a wait-and-see attitude vis-a-vis Hungary for the time being, Hungarian Finance Minister Lajos Bokros told [the Hungarian television program] "News-reel" over the phone. The finance minister, who is currently holding talks in London, added that the leaders of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) were expecting that the Hungarian Government would enforce its austerity measures by parliament.

[Begin Bokros recording] We held our most important talks with EBRD President Jacques de Larosiere. At the talks we first summed up all the measures passed by the Hungarian Government on 12 March. Based on this information, we also held detailed talks on privatization matters and certain projects supported by the EBRD.

Everybody has the attitude of wait-and-see. The question is how quickly the Hungarian parliament can approve these measures. We can tell you that these measures are unanimously supported by foreign investors and various institutions of the financial world. However, the proof of the pudding is in the eating. [end recording]

Official Views 'Stopped' Privatization, Losses

AU0804190795 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Apr 95 p 12

[Interview with Peter Mihalyi, a member of the board of directors of the AVRT, by Peter Szakonyi; place and date not given: "Mihalyi: The Loss Is 120 Million Forints a Day—Privatization in Delay"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Are the state's assets being squandered or is the treasury losing billions of forints due to hesitation and the inability to make decisions? This question has not been asked for months now. The process of privatization has clearly stopped. Has this impaired Hungary's reputation, or has the region's general image caused the reduced investment inclination?—we asked Peter Mihalyi, member of the board of directors of the State Property Management Corporation's [AVRT].

[Mihalyi] The deterioration of the Hungarian economy's foreign image is mainly due to reasons outside our control. The number of Hungarian state-owned companies that produce a profit is dwindling all the time. Therefore, there is not much demand for them, and this is also shown by the prices that can be reached in privatization. At the same time, the still-state-owned companies are finding themselves in an increasingly impossible situation because of the uncertainty caused by the halt of privatization.

[Szakonyi] Does the private sector's growing strength have a favorable effect on the image?

[Mihalyi] Not at all. In fact, the increasing economic and political strength of private enterprises creates competition for the remaining state-owned companies, which results in further price reductions. The case of the EXPRESS advertising newspaper is a good example: Its possible sale price is decreasing every day, while the competitors are finding themselves in a better position. Only one company exists whose privatization might be worth delaying: namely, the MATAV [Hungarian Telecommunications Enterprise], because its value still seems to be growing.

[Szakonyi] Is it possible to express the losses resulting from the suspension of privatization in money terms?

[Mihalyi] If we only consider the interest on the 150 billion forints privatization cash income planned for this year, then each lost day is worth 100-125 million forints.

[Szakonyi] Is this the cost of the privatization managers' inability to make decisions?

[Mihalyi] That is one reason, and the other is that the preparatory work is extremely slow. Work is stopped at weekends, and as the whole issue is surrounded by a political vacuum, it is no wonder that the privatization has stopped. Until parliament accepts the new privatization law, we cannot expect any real changes.

[Szakonyi] If a law is passed in the near future and a decision is made on establishing the new privatization organization, how long will it take for privatization to restart?

[Mihalyi] This could be done within a few weeks, because the new regulations could be drawn up in a short time. Ferenc Bartha already had the structure of the future organization drawn up in December 1994. However, rather than this, the most important factor is the appointment of the four or five people who will lead the organization.

[Szakonyi] What kind of structure will the State Privatization and Asset Management Corporation [APVRT] have?

[Mihalyi] In my view, an organization operated by the State Property Agency [AVU], rather than the APVRT, would be suitable. Asset management and sales form one unit; therefore, it seems expedient to have one person dealing with one company, as is the practice at the AVU.

[Szakonyi] It is precisely this system that has been criticized recently: It has been argued that it offers ample scope for corruption. It is due to the frequent change of administrators and the disappearance of documents that the corrupt practices of recent years have been discovered. How could these be prevented?

[Mihalyi] First of all, I believe that all cases can be traced, even if previously existing documents are missing. Rather than on letterhead paper, political or economic influencing was attempted at private meetings or through telephone conversations.

[Szakonyi] Questioning the correctness of decisions can also be justified, because minutes are no longer taken of everything that is said at board of directors sessions. Is this good?

[Mihalyi] We have no other choice. A session might last five or six hours and the minutes on these would form an amount of files that is simply unmanageable.

[Szakonyi] This leads to unending privatization scandals.

[Mihalyi] It should at last be accepted that the AVRT and the AVU represent the Hungarian state in privatization and that the decisions of these bodies cannot be appealed, just as the decisions of the Constitutional Court or the State Auditor General's Office cannot be reexamined. We have the responsibility to make decisions. Insinuations without proofs are only good for further irritating the public.

U.S., Europe 'Sensitive' to Moscow's NATO Stand

LD0904190295 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1700 GMT 9 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Minister Henryk Goryszewski, head of the National Security Bureau [BBN], said in an interview for Polish Radio that West European countries and the United States are sensitive to Russia's arguments. For this reason they are today making totally different declarations on the issue of Poland's NATO membership than the ones they made six or 10 months ago.

[Begin Goryszewski recording] The great powers do big business with one another. Small business is always sacrificed for the sake of rational policies. And only small business can be done with a country the size of Poland. The U.S. defense secretary has recently been saying something about 15 years. Even if we start preparing ourselves straight away here, the process of Poland's joining will take many, many years.

If you look at the declarations made by West European or U.S. politicians six or 10 months ago and at the ones they are making now, one can clearly see how all of these countries are sensitive to Russia's arguments. [end recording]

Commentary on Quickening of NATO Integration

WS0704122595 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 7 Apr 95 p 1

[Commentary by Andrzej Kaniewski: "What Brings Us Closer to the Treaty"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the tug-of-war between the West and the Visegrad Group, on the one side, and Russia on the other over the Central European states' entry into NATO, advocates of expanding the alliance are taking the offensive and are becoming more self-assertive. Moscow, on the other hand, is becoming increasingly nervous and defensive.

The West was happy to see Poland become active once again. Brussels was very tired of the eternally undecided Prime Minister Pawlak. Oleksy is far more convincing.

Our stance must be in line with the activities of politicians in the West. They no longer limit themselves to issuing political declarations. They look at the calendar with greater confidence. The perspective of expanding NATO has become closer. No one claims membership in NATO should be accompanied by simultaneous entry into the EU. NATO members and candidates alike have understood that it is easier to fulfill military requirements than economic ones.

The West has also understood all those willing cannot be accepted as a group, because the weakest candidate would slow down the whole process. This conclusion

works in our favor. Poland is viewed as the country that can be accepted into NATO first.

Russia is attempting to prevent the expansion of the alliance, threatening to break off the 1990 agreement on nonproliferation of conventional arms in Europe. Instead of biting back, the West is suggesting a reasonable offer of signing a nonaggression treaty between NATO and Moscow. That offer brings the moment we enter NATO even closer.

Prime Minister Addresses SDRP Convention

LD0804124595 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1142 GMT 8 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 8 Apr—Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy has called upon Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP] members to consolidate coalition bonds with the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]. The coalition with the PSL is of value and creates a chance for Poland—we have to unite it, Oleksy said today at the fourth SDRP national convention.

Oleksy recalled that some of his government's plans would be difficult to implement even in a stable political and economic situation in the country. He declared maintaining trends of growth and economic development the chief priority of the policy of his government.

The prime minister also appealed to all "structures of the supreme authority" for joint cooperation. He warned that if politicians did not reach an agreement themselves, the public would do it for them in the elections. At the same time he assured that as the prime minister he would do everything for his government not to become a party in the election campaign.

Ending his speech he joked that he would rather continue to be the Sejm speaker and he treated the function of prime minister as a temporary one.

Oleksy Defends Nonconfrontation With Church

LD0804184795 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1700 GMT 8 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy, who spoke at the convention of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic today, said that his government's highest priority was to maintain economic growth. According to the prime minister, the presidential campaign could bring about economic destabilization if it takes a form of attack against state institutions. I will do everything I can, Oleksy said, to prevent the government from becoming a side in this campaign.

The prime minister would like to support the mission of the church in its role of a moral and social defender of people threatened by violent competition. He also defended the nonconfrontational course with regard to the Roman Catholic Church.

[Begin Oleksy recording] I want to support strongly what Aleksander Kwasniewski said about being flexible, looking for compromise, and about the departure from those fixed attitudes of the left-wing, which are still around and that allow the opponents of the left to portray them as a movement that lays down the directions for antireligious and antichurch thinking on principle.

Kwasniewski's line, which I fully support, does not change anything about the fact that the left will always be anticlerical, that it will always be in favor of a lay state. This will not change. However, the view that the Left is, in its nature and by doctrine, antireligious, maliciously critical, and full of hatred against the church, should not be a consequence of that. The church is a powerful institution in the Polish state, where believers constitute a majority.

Please do not treat Aleksander Kwasniewski's or my own actions, in various conversations and contacts, as a betrayal and disloyalty, or an intention to change course in an illicit or sudden way. [end recording]

Poll: Oleksy Has Less Support Than Predecessors
WS1004064495 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
4 Apr 95 pp 1-2

[Article by E.Cz.: "Social Research Laboratory for RZECZPOSPOLITA; Coalition Electorate Believes in Oleksy Cabinet"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The people who believe that the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] have a chance to remain in power until the end of the parliamentary term are primarily supporters of the two coalition parties. Moreover, these people, as well as supporters of the Union of Labor [UP], approve of the style in which Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy is performing in office. In his first month in office, his activities were approved by 38 percent of respondents to a poll conducted by the Social Research Laboratory [PBS] in Sopot.

The research conducted by PBS in mid-March indicates that over one-third of Poles believe that the SLD-PSL coalition will stay in power until the end of the parliamentary term, that is, until 1997. A month earlier, in mid-February, when President Lech Walesa threatened to dissolve parliament unless the cabinet changed, and when the coalition was going through its most acute crisis, only 30 percent of Poles thought that the coalition had a chance of survival. As many as 42 percent of Poles did not believe this. On 1 March the Sejm recalled the Pawlak cabinet and three days later a new prime minister of the same coalition—Jozef Oleksy—was appointed. The change in the post of the prime minister and of several ministerial posts put an end to the acute crisis in the coalition and averted the danger of dissolving parliament.

As a result, over just one month the number of people who are convinced that the coalition of SLD and PSL has a chance to survive until new parliamentary elections increased by 10 percent. These people primarily include respondents between 25 and 29 years of age, with higher and high-school education, with the lowest per capita family income; farm owners, public sector employees, unemployed people, private entrepreneurs, white-collar workers, as well as residents of rural areas and small towns. Most of them are supporters of SLD and PSL.

Those who do not believe that the coalition will survive are primarily people with higher-than-elementary education, with the highest per capita family income, cadres, employees of the trade sector, private entrepreneurs, and residents of towns and cities. Most of them are supporters of rightist parties, the 11 November Accord [P11L], the Nonparty Bloc in Support of Reforms, "Solidarity," and the Confederation for an Independent Poland.

In line with the PBS poll, after his first three weeks in office, Oleksy's style was approved by 38 percent of respondents (17 percent disagreed, and 45 percent did not express an opinion). His successor in office Waldemar Pawlak had greater support in the beginning—45 percent; however, as he left the Office of the Council of Ministers, only 18 percent of Poles accepted his style of performance as prime minister. As Jozef Oleksy assumed the office, his support was smaller than the support for all the other prime ministers who took office after 1989. This may result from the fact that he is running a cabinet that is largely made up of "old" ministers.

There is a relation between sociological characteristics of the respondents who believe that the coalition has a chance for survival and those who approve of Jozef Oleksy's style. Oleksy's style is accepted first of all by supporters of SLD, but also of PSL. In this case, evaluations made by PSL supporters differ from those made by advocates of SLD far more greatly than in the case of evaluating the coalition's chances of survival. Apparently, members and supporters of PSL find it difficult to resign themselves to the fact that peasant leader Waldemar Pawlak was recalled from the post of prime minister, and SLD contributed to this quite considerably. Voters of UP support Oleksy's style just as much as supporters of PSL do. This group includes first of all people with higher education, elderly people—over 59 years of age, the public sector, disabled pensioners and senior citizens, as well as private entrepreneurs, white-collar workers, those dealing with trade; inhabitants of small and medium-size towns and rural areas. Those who do not approve of Oleksy's style of performing in office are mainly people with primary and vocational education, unemployed people, senior citizens and disabled pensioners, cadres, and housewives. They include first of all supporters of such parties as P11L, the Freedom Union, and the Alliance for Poland.

Do you think the coalition will survive until the end of the term of the present parliament?

	Percent
Yes	40
No	34
Hard to tell	26

The research was conducted on 25-26 March 1995 on a representative 1,050-person sample of adult residents of Poland.

Rightist Presidential Candidate Interviewed

WS0704141595 Warsaw GAZETA POLSKA in Polish 6 Apr 95 p 6

[Interview with Janusz Korwin-Mikke, chairman of the Union for Real Politics and a presidential candidate, by Ewa Zarzycka; place and date not given: "I Am Too Meek and Too Gentle"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Zarzycka] What draft laws would you submit in parliament if you were president?

[Korwin-Mikke] All those which are contrary to the Constitution (paradoxically, where the Constitution is concerned, the president has a smaller say than in the case of regular laws). [passage omitted]

[Zarzycka] And more specifically?

[Korwin-Mikke] There are many such laws—first of all taxation laws. It beats me that the Sejm has not yet figured out that the so-called tax law is actually not a law, but only a resolution of the Sejm, an order for state officials which tells them how they should spend the money taken out of taxpayers' pockets. However, it is said to be a law and the president has the right to veto it—I would take advantage of this prerogative. I believe that budget money should be earmarked for common goals of all citizens—for the Army, police, environmental protection. Not even a penny should be spent in such a way that we take it away from Mr. Smith and give it to Mr. Jones, because this is when a clique is formed under the name of "political parties": How to rob Mr. Smith to give more to Mr. Jones, or vice versa. [passage omitted]

[Zarzycka] What about the reprivatization law?

[Korwin-Mikke] This is quite fundamental. I cannot understand our—literally—dear liberal colleagues (they cost us dearly)—I cannot understand them when they say that reprivatization will impede privatization. After all, it is easier to privatize less than more of the national wealth. [passage omitted]

[Zarzycka] Would you dissolve parliament?

[Korwin-Mikke] Whether one is a democrat or not, or even a supporter of absolute monarchy, a parliament is needed as the only body which tells the people how much money they must pay. This is why the parliament is needed. It certainly should not pass laws—there are no people who know how to do it. [passage omitted]

[Zarzycka] If not parliament, then what?

[Korwin-Mikke] A State Council—a body consisting of a dozen or so people. The council would prepare draft laws and would submit them in the Senate and to the president. If they disagreed, the bill would be sent to parliament, which would not debate it but vote on it. The council should be independent of parliament, and therefore, its members would be elected for a nine-year term. They could not be politicians—a person who decided to be a member of the council would have to leave the political scene.

[Zarzycka] Would you issue a decree that would dissolve opposition parties?

[Korwin-Mikke] Under the Constitution, that is impossible.

[Zarzycka] Would you change the presidential rule into dictatorship?

[Korwin-Mikke] No dictator can govern without the support of at least the enlightened people, or, in fact, the public. No matter whether it is dictatorship, absolute monarchy, etc. Therefore, it would certainly never occur to me to change the form of government without the support of the public. However, if someone said: "In Poland we, thieves, are in the majority and, therefore, we are changing the Constitution so that theft becomes permissible," then I would use the Armed Forces, because principles of justice are more important than the will of a majority. If I became president, I would act in the name of moral principles, not the will of a majority.

[Zarzycka] Are you in favor of fast integration of Poland with NATO?

[Korwin-Mikke] Yes, I am, but on several conditions. First, if Poland signs the pact, NATO must at the same time start defending our eastern borders. The idea that we are to sign the pact and NATO will start defending our borders in five years means exposing us to an enraged Russia—I am not going to irritate it any more, even though I neither like nor fear Russia. Second, Poland's integration with NATO must not entail liquidation of the Polish arms industry. I am a supporter of a free market and the idea that the Polish Government should prohibit Polish factories from manufacturing something or that it should order that arms only be bought in America or England is unacceptable. Third, NATO should defend us. However, if it were to defend us as it is defending the Bosnians, then no, thanks a lot—I prefer to lose the war right away than to be defended so well.

[Zarzycka] Do you think that as far as this issue—Poland's membership in NATO—is concerned, the steps taken by the Polish Government to date have been right and sufficient?

[Korwin-Mikke] All of Polish foreign policy is rickety; in fact, what is happening is scandalous. It lacks determination, whereas it should be stated clearly what our preferences are. Everything is being done in line with the rule: Run with the hare and hunt with the hounds.

[Zarzycka] What is your attitude toward Poland's integration with the EU?

[Korwin-Mikke] We want to have a free market, but we do not want to have EU bureaucrats. I am saying this on behalf of the entire party because we are unanimous on this. The amount of paper that is used in Brussels is even greater than what we see in Poland. Bribes are also more generous, or should I say, European. [passage omitted]

[Zarzycka] What do you think of the pro-Moscow camp in Poland?

[Korwin-Mikke] There are two, or even three such camps. One consists of people who like Russia. The right wing has always been pro-Russian and there are people in the Union for Real Politics who like Moscow. The second camp is not a camp, but simply people who are doing business with gangsters in Russia and who want to have such relations with this country to be able to benefit from this. The third camp is made up of secret agents; we must fight against them. [passage omitted]

SDRP Leader on Walesa, Elections, Situation

LD0804124995 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1041 GMT 8 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 8 Apr—Speaking during the fourth Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP] convention that opened in Warsaw today, party leader Aleksander Kwasniewski has come out in favor of overcoming a traditional mistrust between the left and the church. This is not a declaration due to the existing state of affairs, he stressed.

In his view, after each side rejects stereotypes a possibility for agreement will be opened without abandoning the implementation of own goals. According to Kwasniewski, there exists a chance for such an agreement during work on the new constitution. "We are on a difficult path toward finding solutions for the future," he added.

Kwasniewski described Lech Walesa's style of power as improper and not conducive to building democracy. There is a lot of aggressiveness and destruction in it, and much fewer examples of the president acting as an arbiter, Kwasniewski said.

In Kwasniewski's opinion the SDRP has enough potential to prepare itself for the presidential elections in a "good and wise" manner. He warned against thinking as

the victory of a Democratic Left Alliance candidate was a foregone conclusion. According to him, the coming elections will be very difficult.

Kwasniewski came out in favor of pragmatism in solving economic issues. He added that the SDRP did not rule out a "wise compromise, but such compromise requires two sides."

Taking the floor after Kwasniewski, Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy described the leader's speech as a good presidential manifesto.

Ready To Run for President

LD0804192895 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1700 GMT 8 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] Aleksander Kwasniewski said today that, providing this was the will of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP], he will agree to be a candidate in the presidential elections. According to Aleksander Kwasniewski, while in power his party has not lost its ideological and program identity. Speaking at the National SdRP Convention in Warsaw, Kwasniewski said that such danger was there because of the need for the government coalition to solve completely new problems.

[Begin Kwasniewski recording] This brought forth the question about the way our program should be implemented, about the clarity of our political line, about the limits of concessions and compromises that should not be transgressed without losing face and ideological identity.

Today I want to say very clearly and openly—after analyzing everything that the SdRP has done this year and everything it has done since its formation in 1990—that we have not been disloyal to the expectations of our voters, that we have not yielded under the pressure of being in government, and that we are not sacrificing our program values at the altar of power. This is an important statement, as this argument is often used about and against our party. [end recording]

[Announcer] SdRP Secretary General Jerzy Szmajdziński said that 27 provincial SdRP branches had already declared their support for Aleksander Kwasniewski as the Democratic Left Alliance candidate. The candidate will be officially selected at the second round of the convention, on 13 May.

Ursus Factory Workers Stage 2-Hour Strike

LD1004110095 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1005 GMT 10 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A two-hour warning strike was staged today by Solidarity at the Ursus mechanical plant. Trade unionists are demanding average pay rises of 250 zlotys and cheap credits, and that outstanding taxes and social insurance premiums due to the Social Insurance

Office be written off, Andrzej Krzepakowski, spokesman for the Solidarity factory commission, told Polish Radio.

Attache to Bonn To Head Counterintelligence Unit

WS0704131295 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 7 Apr 95 p 3

[Article by "LUZ": "New Head of Counterintelligence Straight From Germany"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Colonel Stefan Janus, the current Polish military attache in Germany, is to become the new head of military counterintelligence, ZYCIE WARSZAWY learned yesterday from Col. Konstanty Malejczuk, head of the Military Information Services [WSI].

The counterintelligence unit (dealing with the protection of officers and military units) has been headed thus far by Commander Kazimierz Glowacki. One of the new defense minister's first decisions was to dismiss him. "I had my reservations about him," Zbigniew Okonski told journalists.

The head of WSI told us in the meantime that the dismissal of Commander Glowacki is due to a "normal rotation." "He was to implement specific projects, and he did. We now have other plans for Commander Glowacki," said Col. Malejczyk, without specifying what those projects might be.

As we remember, the dismissal of the head of counterintelligence was the first source of friction between the prime minister and the "presidential" defense minister. Jozef Oleksy learned of Commander Glowacki's dismissal when it was already an accomplished fact. The defense minister then said that he would "clean his own house himself" and dismissed the issue.

The head of WSI is surprised by all the commotion. "The prime minister is not informed of changes of the heads of departments [in ministries], and the head of counterintelligence is a lower level official," he claims.

Bank President on Plans To Partially Float Zloty

WS0704121295 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 7 Apr 95 p 18

[Interview with Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, president of the National Bank of Poland, by Robert Jakubowski and Piotr Orlik; place and date not given: "I Am for a Strong Zloty"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [GAZETA WYBORCZA] People fear that once the exchange rates for foreign currencies are set free, their prices will fall by 5 percent according to some observers, and by 10-12 percent according to others. How much do you think the price of the dollar will fall?

[Gronkiewicz-Waltz] I do not think the appreciation of the zloty will be great. It is difficult to predict its level as it will depend on the situation on the day the mechanisms of setting the exchange rate are introduced. The National Bank of Poland [NBP] will intervene in the market to keep the exchange rate at an adequate level.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] What would that level be?

[Gronkiewicz-Waltz] That would depend on the situation in the market, but we will try to stabilize it.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Why does NBP want to float the exchange rates?

[Gronkiewicz-Waltz] The mechanism of creeping devaluation is a rather inflexible and not very efficient instrument. As the pace of devaluation continues to be slowed down, banks do not have much room to maneuver, and our exports are impaired.

That is why the best solution is to partially free the exchange rate of the zloty. That rate will still be set within creeping devaluation, but it will reflect the situation on global markets and domestic supply and demand.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Are you not afraid of pressure from the strong exporters' lobby?

[Gronkiewicz-Waltz] The exporters are doing well. In 1994, exports rose by 24 percent, salaries in companies producing exported goods also rose. We must look at things from the point of view of the interests of the entire economy, not just one group.

The exporters must know that there is no alternative to our decision. It might cause a slight appreciation of the zloty, but it may also contribute to lowering the inflation rate and—as a consequence—interest rates.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] NBP intends to throw banks and companies into deep water. Are you not afraid that instead of learning to swim they might drown?

[Gronkiewicz-Waltz] Initially, the introduction of a floating exchange rate will be inconvenient. Companies will have to get used to temporary fluctuations in the currency exchange rates.

On the other hand, however, imports will become cheaper, and I hope inflation will go down. If inflation is low in March and in April, it will be possible to decrease interest rates.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] [Finance] Minister Kolodko said yesterday that the inflation rate for March was 1.7 percent and interest rates need to be lowered by five percentage points. What do you think about that?

[Gronkiewicz-Waltz] If the inflation rate for March turns out to be lower and April is calm, we will be able to talk of returning to the old interest rates. For the time being,

Then we can gradually lower them on a more frequent basis. Society should start getting used to frequent fluctuations of interest rates and currency exchange rates. These are normal phenomena in developed economies.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] How do you assess the February decision to raise interest rates? The banks did not raise their rates. Was this decision thus necessary?

[Gronkiewicz-Waltz] That decision has already been verified. Although we did not know what the inflation rate for February would be when we made it, it turned out it was higher than estimated. Our operations caused the government to accelerate anti-inflationary processes, the increase of fixed prices to be carried out over a longer time span, and banks to refrain from lowering interest rates on savings accounts.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] The reason for introducing a fluctuating exchange rate is the pace at which currency reserves are growing. Why are these reserves growing more quickly than projected?

[Gronkiewicz-Waltz] Because this currency comes primarily from unregistered trade, the volume of which we are unable to predict. Economic activity in Germany has improved. The market just beyond our eastern border remains unsatiated, hence the influx of money from

trade in the border regions was greater. There is still a deficit in registered trade, although it is smaller.

People cannot be told, however, that high reserves are a calamity. Considering the size of our country, \$13 billion in bank reserves is not that much, especially as we are paying our foreign debts. Over the next few years we will be paying installments of nearly \$1 billion annually.

So far, the reserves are growing primarily due to trade in the border region. In one or one and half years, however, revenues will fall. We must thus plan for the long term.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] We have huge reserves and foreign debts. Why are we not taking the opportunity to pay back our debts before their due dates?

[Gronkiewicz-Waltz] We cannot renegotiate our agreements with the Paris Club and the London Club so suddenly. We did pay some of our debts ahead of time—for example loans from the IMF.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] What would you advise the small savers to do? Should they sell their dollars now?

[Gronkiewicz-Waltz] I am not an adviser, but a state official. Of course, as the president of the central bank, I can always recommend saving in zlotys. I am for the strengthening of the zloty.

ANEA Stance on Nuclear Nonproliferation
*AU0804202795 Bucharest VOCEA ROMANIEI in
Romanian 31 Mar p 2*

[Article by Professor Dr. Sevastian Rapeanu, general director of the National Nuclear Energy Agency, ANEA: "Tendentious and Arbitrary Affirmations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Regarding the serious charges taken from a Russian daily and the Bulgarian daily TRUD and published in the Monday, 27 March 1995, issue of *EVERIMENTUL ZILEI* without even minimal verification with the authorized state bodies in the nuclear field (the National Atomic Energy Agency, the National Commission in Charge of Nuclear Activity Control, and the Electricity Public Corporation), we are duty-bound to present the public with the actual situation.

1. As is known, Romania signed the nuclear nonproliferation treaty of 30 January 1970, among the first 40 countries considered to be founders of the treaty. In this context, Law No. 61/1974—which is still valid today—regarding the way in which nuclear activity is carried out in Romania, stipulates under Article 2 that the state promotes the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. All activities in the nuclear field are carried out on the basis of an existing nuclear program the major goal of which is, currently, to build the CANDU-type nuclear-electric power plant that is under construction at Cernavoda. The first of the plant's five groups of 660 mW each will be put into operation this year; the second is still under construction and another four years are still needed before it can start operating. It is worth noting that the fuel used by the plant is natural uranium and not enriched uranium, and the plant uses heavy water as a moderator and cooling agent.

2. The fuel elements resulting from natural uranium required by the plant are being produced by the Nuclear Fuel Factory in Colibasi-Arges and are tested in the 14 mW TRIGA reactor. There is no factory in Romania that enriches uranium. The public knows that the only heavy-water-producing factory in Romania, which is currently operating with only one module, at a 90 tonnes/year capacity, is near Turnu Severin. There is no heavy-water-producing factory at Colibasi-Arges.

3. There are no installations in Romania for reprocessing used fuel for plutonium extraction purposes. Likewise, there is no used fuel either, since there are no operating nuclear power plants. Prior to the revolution, an insignificant quantity of liquid 100 mg of plutonium was obtained at the Colibasi-Arges Nuclear Research Institute under laboratory conditions, and this was not communicated to the Vienna International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA]. This event was reported to the Vienna International Atomic Energy Agency in 1992. The respective agency sent a commission of experts who, following inspection, drew the conclusion that there is no program whatsoever for producing nuclear fuel for the

purpose of building nuclear weapons—and therefore, that the provisions of the nonproliferation treaty are being observed.

In view of these realities, the title of the article reproduced by the daily *EVERIMENTUL ZILEI* [Romania Might Produce the Nuclear Bomb] can be interpreted as an indirect assessment of the capabilities of Romanian experts in the nuclear field, who do indeed carry out activities recognized in the international arena, but with no connection whatsoever to the building of the nuclear bomb. It is clear that those Russian and Bulgarian dailies may be biased, their purpose being to create difficulties for the nuclear program in Romania, as well as our country's cooperative relations with the Vienna-based IAEA.

Regarding the goal of extending the validity of the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons in April 1995, at the conference that is to take place in the United States, it is appropriate that the public be made aware of the fact that Romania has already communicated to the IAEA its support for an indefinite extension of the treaty.

PRM Planning To Annul 4-Party Protocol

*AU0704153795 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in
Romanian 1300 GMT 7 Apr 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] During a news conference held today, Greater Romania Party [PRM] President Corneliu Vadim Tudor said that the PRM's Steering Committee has summoned an extraordinary conference of that party's parliamentarians, mayors, and councillors to be held on one of the first 10 days of May, with the declared purpose of annulling the four-party cooperation protocol—and to definitively and irrevocably withdraw the support granted to the government.

Talking about the reasons for that decision, Tudor said that it was partly due to the new wave of price hikes, which could turn into a genuine social bomb—although the PRM has requested on numerous occasions that a price-monitoring department be set up—and partly to the fact that, so far, none of the stipulations of the four-party protocol has been observed. The government does not really consult with the PRM when making decisions, Tudor pointed out, adding that, quote, the PRM Steering Committee publicly declares that it considers the four-party protocol a piece of paper lacking all value and a maneuver undertaken by the government to gain time and benefit from the votes of our parliamentarians, unquote.

In conclusion, PRM President Corneliu Vadim Tudor said that until the extraordinary conference of the party, the PRM considers itself absolved from any obligation with respect to the government and the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania]. However, the PRM will not refuse dialogue or cut communication channels, and

neither will it join the opposition, the PRM president added, cited by our correspondent, Tudor Stanciu.

Arad Police Seize Hashish Dealers

AU0704190795 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 30 Mar 95 p 1

[Report by Liliana Brad: "Hashish in the Streets of Arad"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Arad police have concluded investigations in a case that is not very common here: the selling of drugs in the streets of the city. In the very center of the city, in the Corona bar, D.C., the owner of an Arad trade and tourism company, together with G.C., who has repatriated from France, tried to sell quickly a bag containing 7.257 kg of hashish. They were trying to sell the drugs saying it was a kind of "grass" that could be used to roll cigarettes able to cause delirious effects. It is quite peculiar that the two requested 35,000 German marks [DM] for the entire bag, although in the West each kilogram of such "grass" has a price of DM15,000-20,000.

Marko Wants Clearly Defined Autonomy Prerogatives

AU0804195295 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 8 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The proceedings of the Council of Representatives of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] have continued in Miercurea Ciuc [Harghita County]. According to the information that our correspondents Mihai Secolean and Mirel Brodan have received from the organizers, the major

topics of today's debates were connected with the presentation of three concepts regarding the statute of autonomy and preparations for the UDMR Congress.

Also today, Laszlo Tokes, UDMR honorary president, presented for debate a draft decision regarding the continuation of the Romanian-Hungarian dialogue that began in Atlanta. Tokes today received, for his work, a Diploma of Honor from the Organization of Hungarians in Slovakia.

The participants in the meeting decided that the next meeting of the UDMR Council of Representatives will be held on 6 May 1995.

In an interview granted to our correspondent, UDMR President Bela Marko said, in connection with the issue of autonomy plans, that there are differences regarding the actual terms that should be used in documents for the various forms of autonomy. That is, actual solutions must be found that can be applied if positive results are reached in the legislative sphere. He mentioned that, for example, cultural autonomy must include educational and cultural institutes that must be directed, controlled, and organized by representatives of the respective minority. However, it should be made clear from the beginning how this kind of autonomy functions and how it is to be financed. Also, in the case of regional autonomy, Bela Marko stated that it is necessary to clearly define prerogatives, duties, and the right to use the mother tongue, as well as ways in which the educational process should be carried out. The concept of autonomy should be defined with the most unequivocal documents, precisely in order to eliminate the accusations and suspicions that currently prevail, stated the UDMR leader.

Daily: U.S. Using Truce To Arm Muslims, Croats
*LD0904201195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1838
GMT 9 Apr 95*

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Rome, April 9 (TANJUG)—The U.S. has used the four-month truce in Bosnia for arming Muslims and Croats in order to help them defeat the Bosnian Serbs, instead of using it for actions aimed at ending the war, the Rome Catholic daily *AVENIRE* wrote Sunday.

The paper claimed that the Clinton administration had used the four-month truce that came into effect on Jan. 1 for sending large quantities of arms and many military instructors to the Bosnian Muslims and Croats.

'CIA experts organized an airlift between Pula (Croatia) and Tuzla (a Muslim-controlled town in northern Bosnia). In the beginning, U.S. cargo planes were used for delivering arms but, after the Serbs downed three aircraft, the mission was handed over to the Turkish Air Force,' the paper said. *AVENIRE* said three secret communications centres had been set up for the operation - one in Visoko, a Muslim-controlled town in central Bosnia, and two in Croatia.

Explaining the anti-Serb position of the Clinton administration, the paper said that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's 'strong-willed policy' was an obstacle to a U.S. economic, political and military dominance in the region east of the former 'Iron Curtain,' which is populated by about 700 million potential consumers. Sanctions and other measures are therefore being used to exhaust Serbia economically and force it to a political capitulation, the paper said.

Attempts are being made to apply the same scenario toward the Bosnian and Krajina Serbs through 'low-intensity' military actions because the U.S. does not want at present to provoke an all-out conflict in which, according to its estimates, Croatia and Bosnia would be totally destroyed, the paper said. The commentator expressed a belief that, if things got out of hand, the U.S. would try at any cost to prevent the conflict from spilling over into the Serbian Province of Kosovo and Metohija, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey because economic, demographic, moral and political consequences would be unbearable for Washington.

Ganic Foresees No Need for Carter Visit

AU0904203995 Paris AFP in English 2008 GMT 9 Apr 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, April 9 (AFP)—Bosnian Vice-President Ejup Ganic Sunday quashed the idea of a visit here by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter to mediate an extension of the truce between the warring parties.

Bosnian Serb radio had announced earlier that Carter, who helped bring about the current four-month truce which runs from January to end of April, was prepared to return to Bosnia to mediate a new deal.

"We do not see the need for such a visit," Ganic told Bosnian television. "We think any visit by President Carter would create confusion and, in a way, give room to Karadzic to avoid (...) accepting the Contact Group peace plan," he said. [passage omitted]

Bosnian Serb radio said Carter had written to Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic offering to help shore up the crumbling truce which he helped negotiate end of December.

Ganic Sets Conditions for Prolonging Cease-Fire

*AU0704170495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 Apr 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Chaired by Ejup Ganic, president of the Council for International Cooperation, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, and vice president of the Federation, a joint meeting of the representatives of all parties having deputies in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republican and Federal Assemblies was held in Sarajevo today. The topics of the meeting were: The political, international, and military situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina in light of the expiring cease-fire agreement and the moves of the Contact Group and the international community. The representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Council of the Congress of the Bosnian Muslim Intellectuals, the Croatian National Council, and the Serbian National Council also took part in the work of this consultative meeting. Here is a report by Mehmed Alijasic:

[Begin recording] [Alijasic] The main objective of the agreement and exchange of ideas and opinions at this important gathering was in the introduction explained by the council's president Dr. Ejup Ganic, who on that occasion also briefly analyzed the situation:

[Ganic] We seek a peaceful solution. We are defending ourselves. We are not undertaking any offensive activities but simply responding to the attacks, which [words indistinct]. On the other hand, if we were to send a sort of (?guarantee) to Karadzic every four months that he can sleep tight then this would destroy all chances for a peaceful solution, because it would tacitly imply that he will get this extension every four months and that he can keep the occupied territories. This would then resemble a sort of, I don't know, creation of reality on the ground, as it is being called.

Therefore, we told the international community that we support the Contact Group plan, that we support its activities, that if Karadzic's Serbs accept the Contact Group plan, if Serbia and Montenegro recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina as an independent state and its borders, this will create the conditions for the talks on prolongation of

the cease-fire agreement. (Currently), we do not see a reason to think in this direction.

Several issues arise here. One of the topics [words indistinct] plan on the ground is also [words indistinct] demilitarization of Sarajevo. You know that we earlier proposed the demilitarization of Sarajevo within a radius of 20 kilometers. This would lift the blockade of the town. A mixed and ethnically balanced police force together with the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] would maintain law and order in the town and, naturally, the safety of the town would have to be guaranteed. This proposal has its advantages and perhaps we could discuss this a little today. Whenever we have mentioned the demilitarization of Sarajevo, Karadzic's Serbs have rejected it.

On the other hand, regarding the Contact Group peace plan, many people say that [words indistinct] this plan on the table without any results. However, the Contact Group members maintained unity and exerted pressure on the Belgrade regime so that it is now openly signaling its willingness to recognize the countries in the region, but demands previous suspension of sanctions that were imposed against it. The international community believes that the sanctions are the sole instrument that can control the Belgrade regime and they are open for a total suspension. Depending on the behavior on the ground and sincerity in the championing of peace, they are willing to implement further relaxations toward the Belgrade regime. Therefore, we support the continuation of the Contact Group and the cooperation with it; however, we believe that it must apply certain pressure on Belgrade.

Regarding the arms embargo that was imposed against our state, we continue to favor the lifting of the arms embargo. We believe that this would result in a natural balance and that the lifting of the embargo would accelerate peace talks. On the other hand, the question of UNPROFOR's departure and the arrival of some new forces is arising and this is all interlinked. However, we believe that a [word indistinct] solution can be found in connection with this that will be in the interest of peace and will lead toward the establishment of [word indistinct] in the region. Therefore, our [word indistinct] embargo remains [words indistinct]. We believe that the embargo should be lifted. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Ljubijankic Comments on Expiration of Cease-Fire

LD0904200995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 9 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Irfan Ljubijankic, Bosnia-Herzegovina minister of foreign affairs, today received French Ambassador to Sarajevo Henri Jacolin. Ambassador Jacolin was particularly interested in our approach to developments that are going to take place after the agreement on the cessation of hostilities expires.

Minister Ljubijankic explained to Ambassador Jacolin the stance of the legitimate government not to extend the cease-fire. Our official refusal to extend it does not mean that after 1 May we are going to launch attacks, Minister Ljubijankic said. We shall behave as if the cease-fire was still in force, and thus give the international community space to introduce an even harsher isolation of Karadzic and put pressure on Milosevic to facilitate the establishment of peace. The main reason for our reluctance to extend the cease-fire is that we do not want the current situation on the ground to be frozen and Bosnia to be Cypriotized.

Ambassador Jacolin also informed Minister Ljubijankic about activities that France was planning to carry out in aid of Bosnia-Herzegovina in culture and education.

Minister Conveys Izetbegovic's Stand to UN

AU0704184995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 7 Apr 95

[Nada al-Issa report from Zagreb]

[FBIS Translated Text] Minister Muratovic conveyed the messages, views, and demands of Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, and Prime Minister Haris Siljadic regarding the future mandate of the UN Protection Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina to Yasushi Akashi.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Government is dissatisfied with the way in which the UN forces have been portraying the situation on the ground and especially with their reaction, that is, their lack of reaction to the stepped up aggression, particularly against the safe havens and exclusion zones; especially against Bihac and Sarajevo.

Minister Muratovic reminded Akashi that Bihac is again being shelled almost daily and that Sarajevo was shelled last night, too. For this reason, Bosnia-Herzegovina demands that the United Nations applies its resolutions on the ground and that the NATO pact fulfills its ultimatums to the aggressor.

In the name of the government, Minister Muratovic demanded that Yasushi Akashi forwards correct data from the ground to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali so that the UN Secretary General would be able to present accurate information about the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina in his report to the UN Security Council on 21 April.

In this respect, Minister Muratovic came out with concrete demands of our government today. He demanded that the United Nations undertake radical and concrete measures, especially to protect the so-called safe havens and also end the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina in general. A special request put forward in Zagreb today to Yasushi Akashi in the name of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and the government was: Prevention and termination of the aggression on Bihac is a precondition for any progress in the peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Minister Muratovic will discuss the situation in Bihac and the possibilities for ending the aggression with General Janvier, UN commander for the former Yugoslavia, in Zagreb tomorrow. Janvier visited Bihac today where, as we have learned, he tried to find ways to stop the aggression against this UN safe haven.

Janvier Promises NATO Air Support in Bihac

LD0804171895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 8 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] If the Serbs continue to shell Bihac, NATO action will follow. This was stated in Zagreb today by General Bernard Janvier, UN forces commander for former Yugoslavia, in talks with Hasan Muratovic, Bosnia-Herzegovina liaison minister with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]. Gen. Janvier promised that UNPROFOR would do everything for the opening of Bihac-bound humanitarian routes. Nada al-Issa has a report from Zagreb:

[Begin recording] [Al-Issa] If the aggressor continues to shell Bihac, the United Nations will immediately and severely warn the aggressor by sending in NATO low-flying aircraft over Bihac. If this fails to halt the aggression, NATO aircraft will go to concrete action—air-strikes against the aggressor's positions around Bihac itself. Gen. Bernard Janvier, UN commander for former Yugoslavia, stated this in Zagreb today in talks with Hasan Muratovic, Bosnia-Herzegovina liaison minister with UNPROFOR. Gen. Janvier promised the United Nations would do everything to stop the fighting and to extend the cease-fire, as he put it, after 1 May. UNPROFOR will do everything in its power for the opening of Bihac-bound humanitarian routes.

The most important thing is to halt the aggression coming from the so-called Serb Krajina and open humanitarian routes. Therefore, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government wants UN forces to be deployed along Bosnia-Herzegovina-Croatian borders, Minister Muratovic said.

To this Gen. Janvier said that UNPROFOR had information, allegedly not evidence, about the aggression against Bihac coming from the so-called Serb Krajina, and that a special UNPROFOR commission would be set up to thoroughly examine the aggression from the so-called Krajina on Bihac.

Evidence is not a problem, Minister Muratovic said, because the Bosnia-Herzegovina side, i.e. Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's 5th Corps and Gen. Dudakovic, can give concrete evidence supporting this: numerous POWs or killed Martić's soldiers on the Bihac battlefield.

Minister Muratovic told Gen. Janvier that the United Nations should now implement the latest UN Security Council Resolution No. 982 on the new UNPROFOR mandate in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and to implement previous resolutions that should have halted the aggression, which has not yet happened. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Karadzic on UN Mandate; Warns NATO

LD0704224395 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2130 GMT 7 Apr 95

[From the Slikom na Sliku program]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Studio announcer] Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic has held a pompous news conference. At this moment, Karadzic has several problems: his soldiers are losing territory, the international community wants to place observers on the border between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia and Milosevic is trying to negotiate with Izetbegovic. All this has prompted Karadzic to issue threats once more.

[Begin Karadzic recording] [Video shows Bosnian Serb television footage—identified by screen logo—of Karadzic's news conference; place and date not given] I want to say that we will not accept any changes to the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] mandate here without our full consent.

Likewise, we will not accept changes to the UN mandate in Serb Krajina in respect of the patrolling [kontrola] of borders between us and Serb Krajina.

Further attempts to push Serb Krajina into Croatia can only lead to a speedy unification of the Srpska republic and the republic of Serb Krajina. So, if the international community continues to be biased and if it does not respect the attitude of the Serbs in Serb Krajina, then a speedy decision on the unification of our two republics can be expected.

This then would be the core of a future Serb federation. We shall put to our assembly a Serb federation project at its next session in Sanski Most on Saturday.

In any case, this will be a much larger country with a larger army and more resources, a country capable of defending itself and defeating the enemy.

Of course, we are for peace. We are offering peace right now. We are offering a permanent peace. We are also offering flexible and tolerant talks on borders and the issue of territories after a peace agreement is concluded.

But we do not accept peace conditions being imposed on us as if we lost the war or as if we were responsible for the breakup of Yugoslavia. Formally speaking, we and Serb Krajina have never left Yugoslavia and have never accepted the breakup of Yugoslavia. [end recording]

[Unidentified TV announcer] Journalists were interested in the president's comments on yesterday's decision by NATO ambassadors to send 80 NATO soldiers to Croatia.

[Begin Karadzic recording] In this way, NATO is entering the Balkans through the back door. This represents a very dangerous precedent. I think that all Balkan countries and even some eastern countries, particularly Russia, should oppose this cunning by NATO around the Balkans and in the Balkans.

As far as we are concerned, NATO may not come to Serb territory or near Serb territory. We are not going to tolerate low-flying NATO aircraft either. Recently, we were forced to down two NATO aircraft—one near Tuzla, one near Bihac—because they were sent on combat and surveillance missions, they were on an enemy mission against us. I think that someone in the west wishes to create a permanently unstable situation here, by dragging NATO into the Balkans. I believe that European countries should oppose it because this is still Europe. The deployment of NATO in the Balkans will mean a permanently unstable area in the Balkans. [end recording]

Karadzic Presents 'Only Way' To Prevent War

LD0704181195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1731 GMT 7 Apr 95

[Item received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 7 Apr (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the republic [RS], today said that a speedy recognition of the RS borders was the only way to prevent Muslim extremists from waging a long-term war. "Bearing in mind the well-known fact that Islam does not leave room for peace but only for victory or defeat, we are convinced that Muslim extremists will try to create a Lebanon-like, long-term war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina," Karadzic told a news conference held in Pale today.

Unless the international community recognizes the RS soon, the RS president warned that Serbs would be forced to go for a final victory, "although throughout the war we have been hoping for a political solution and a draw, which would allow all three warring parties to remain on their territories."

Speaking about the Contact Group's efforts to find a solution acceptable to all parties in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict, Karadzic recalled that the RS was ready to continue negotiations on the basis of a formula that would not force it to first accept and then discuss the proposed plan.

"We believe that the Contact Group is not capable of securing peace, as manifested by its year-long work," Karadzic said when answering numerous questions raised by domestic and foreign journalists. He also expressed the conviction that fresh solutions, which would satisfy all warring parties, had to be found.

According to the RS president, negotiations between the warring parties are inevitable and international mediators cannot be successful unless they are impartial and equally respect the interests of Serbs, Muslims, and Croats.

Further on Mladic's Protest to UN's Smith

LD0804205795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1920 GMT 8 Apr 95

[Received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 8 Apr (SRNA)—Commander in chief of the Srpska republic army Colonel General Ratko Mladic has sent a letter of protest to the commander of Blue Helmets for former Bosnia-Herzegovina Gen. Rupert Smith because of the crude and unilateral violation of point 3 of the agreement on the complete cessation of hostilities and the exchange of liaison officers. [passage omitted]

"We consider the move that you have made as being the confirmation of your partiality to the detriment of the Serbs and your inability or lack of readiness to implement the mission with which you have been entrusted." As the Sarajevo-based UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] command failed to give a reply to the letter of protest, Gen. Mladic today addressed UNPROFOR Commander for former Yugoslavia Gen. Bertrand Janvier.

The commander of the Srpska republic army asked Gen. Janvier who has authorized his subordinate command to make such a move, i.e. who has the right to suspend unilaterally the agreement and with which side the UN forces were siding? "Owing to this move, I would like to inform you that we are forced to take reciprocal measures in connection with point three of the agreement on permanent cessation of hostilities," Gen. Mladic says in conclusion of his letter of protest forwarded to SRNA by the information service of the General Staff of the Srpska republic army.

Izetbegovic, Ljubljankic Address Western Bosnia

LD0804170695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 8 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The first assembly of the Bosnian Krajina [western Bosnia] citizens was held in Sarajevo today under the slogan "For a free Bosnian Krajina in a sovereign, integral, and democratic Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina." Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic also addressed the assembly. Vehid Dzindo reports:

[Begin recording] [Dzindo] Before the aggression against our country began, one quarter of the overall population of our country lived in Bosnian Krajina, which encompasses 31 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina territory with 24 municipalities. In this area the Serbian-Montenegrin, Serb Krajina, and others of Karadzic's chetniks have committed unprecedented crimes over the past three years: They have killed more than 65,000 Bosniaks-Muslims and Croats—25,000 in Prijedor and 11,000 innocent people, including women and children, in Kozarac alone. At the same time, over 350,000 Bosniaks and Croat were evicted; more than 25,000 POWs of the 350,000 who went through more than 100 camps and prisons were put to death. More than 100 mass graves can be found in this area.

Talking about these and other details of horrifying chetnik crimes perpetrated in Bosnian Krajina, Irfan

Ljubijankic, chairman of the organizational committee of the first assembly of the citizens of Bosnian Krajina and Bosnia-Herzegovina minister of foreign affairs, said:

[Ljubijankic] The results of our research show that in Bosnian Krajina, particularly in areas with a predominantly Muslim population—Prijeedor, Bosanska Dubica, Sanski Most, Kljuc, Bosanski Novi, and Banja Luka—the Serbian-Montenegrin aggressor has been perpetrating serious crimes unprecedented in the recent history of our civilization.

In an organized way the aggressor has been killing and massacring men, women, and children—the elderly of Muslim and Croat nationality. It has been plundering and destroying their property, evicting the non-Serb population from their centuries-old homes, turning these areas into single-nation areas which are being populated by Serbs in order to create ethnically pure Serb territories. It has been deporting, massacring, and killing in concentration camps, threatening, terrorizing, arresting, maltreating, beating, persecuting, and starving civilians in prisons where numerous Bosniaks are dying daily. The aggressor has been raping women, girls, and even little girls, brutally cutting off some parts of their bodies. In camps, prisons, hotels, garages, private homes, and elsewhere the aggressor has been keeping the raped women, girls, and little girls under arrest in an attempt to prevent the termination of unwanted pregnancies. It has been exposing civilians to forced labor and forced mobilization into the aggressor army. It has been taking and killing hostages. It has been using force, sieges, and human shields at random. It has been performing illegal searches and seizures of property, illegally dismissing people from work. It has intentionally destroyed cities, towns, and villages. In a planned manner it has plundered, destroyed, and ruined business facilities—the complete infrastructure of Bosnian Krajina and the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Dzindo] Participants of the assembly were also addressed by Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic:

[Izetbegovic] Our tradition believes that to come from Bosnian Krajina means to be a courageous and proud man. I sometimes think that on our nation's tree you are the hard knot that is not easy to [word indistinct]. God help the one who raises his hand against our nation. They have done that. What Ljubijankic said is nothing new to me, nor to you. But we are prone to forget certain things sometimes. They have raised their hands against you, God help those who do it. Those hands will wither.

One more thing: Some emissaries paid a visit to us recently, asking when the war will be over. This also amounts to a bit of pressure. The other day I told one of

them, precisely on the day the war started [words indistinct], on 5 April the war started. When it is going to end? There is no date for that. I will tell you, sir, it will end when our population that was evicted returns to their homes and when the criminals are punished.

[Dzindo] The assembly received greetings from Ismet Efendija Spahic, Deputy Reis ul-Ulema, and Brigadier General Jovan Divjak. [passage omitted] The assembly of the Bosnian Krajina citizens adopted a declaration today. It rejects vehemently all ideas aimed at the secession of this area from the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina and goes on to say that the assembly will work decisively on the political and military organization of Bosnian Krajina citizens. [end recording]

HSS Protests Izetbegovic's 'Generalized' Remarks
AU0704195095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 7 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Regarding an answer given by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, to a reporter of EL PAIS about whether the Croats are true or false allies of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Croatian Peasants' Party (HSS) of Bosnia-Herzegovina today issued the following statement:

The statement by President Izetbegovic can be misunderstood because it is too generalized to deal with the position of the Croats toward Bosnia-Herzegovina, those within and outside this country.

First of all, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats are the constituent peoples in this country who have, for three years, fought for the survival of their state and homeland and are nobody's allies in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is demonstrated not merely by the activity of the Croatian Peasants' Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also by other parties and numerous other Croatian institutions, ranging from cultural and religious to military, not to mention individuals who, in various ways, participated in the defense of Bosnia-Herzegovina against the aggression.

We understand that foreign reporters are not capable of grasping the complexity of our problems and relations, and that they have the tendency to identify a policy of a given political group with an entire people. For this reason, we should avoid statements that could be interpreted in different ways, especially when the relations between two peoples depend on such statements, and we should state clearly to whom a suspicion or a belief of being adversary of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation refers, the statement for the public by the Croatian Peasants' Party states at the end.

Muslims Build Airfield Near Visoko Stronghold
LD0904171995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1102
GMT 9 Apr 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ilijas, April 9 (TANJUG)—
Bosnian Muslims have built an airfield, currently used
by single-engined aircraft only, near the central Bosnian
town of Visoko, one of the main Muslim strongholds.

The airfield is located at Radovlje, 7 km west of Visoko,
on a terrain used by the local soccer team before the civil
war in Bosnia.

U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] officials recently
confirmed that the airfield existed, reporting last week
that U.S. aircraft had twice prevented flights by Muslim
aircraft that had taken off from the airfield near Visoko.
Bosnia's sky was declared a no-fly zone in autumn 1992
for all but aircraft belonging to the United Nations and
international relief aid organizations.

Krajina Unions Hold Rally To Support Martić
AU0704194895 Knin Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 6 Apr 95

[Report by Goran Sijan]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, the Krajina Trade Union and the Knin Municipal Trade Union Council held a rally at Knin's Stojan Janković Square in support of views of RSK [republic of Serbian Krajina] President Milan Martić and the RSK leadership on the latest UN Security Council resolution on the new mandate of the UN forces in the RSK and Croatia. Goran Sijan has a report on that.

[Sijan] A telegram by the RSK Trade Union Council was read at the rally and, among other things, it says that: The RSK Trade Union Council is determined to oppose the unprincipled and one-sided policy of the international community toward the Serbs. This telegram of support stems from our close ties and cooperation on the way to our unification, which is bound to happen very soon and which we all want, reads the telegram of support by the RSK Trade Union.

Speaking about the latest UN Security Council resolution, Milinko Sandić, president of the RSK Trade Union Council, said that the Krajina Serbs must not accept a new name for UN forces, UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia]. UNCRO can be an army that will establish borders between us, and we do not need any borders, says Sandić and continues that, regardless of all pressure, the Serbs must continue defending the borders of the RSK.

[Sandić] The participants of this rally demand that the two presidents, Mr. Martić and Mr. Karadžić, implement the Prijedor Declaration and various other agreements that unite us into one state, for this is our chance.

[Sijan] Sandić also talked about the difficulties faced by the Krajina economy as a result of the war, as well as about the financial problems of workers and soldiers. He emphasized that we must all do our best to see them adequately remunerated. As we said, at the insistence of citizens present at the meeting, the RSK president also spoke at the meeting: We can talk to whoever you want, but to reconcile and, for the third time in this century, agree to be slaughtered—we will not do that, and no force in the world is great enough to make us accept that. Anyway, we do not have the right to do that out of respect for all the victims of this war, all those who are no longer among us, said RSK President Milan Martić addressing the citizens present at the rally organized by the RSK Trade Union Council and the Knin Municipal Trade Union Council.

Polish UN Soldier Killed by Croatian Soldiers
LD1004122495 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1200 GMT 10 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Corporal Piotr Moszynski, a Polish soldier of the UN peace keeping forces stationed

in Krajina, was shot dead today by Croatian soldiers at an observation post. The UN forces' spokesman in Zagreb only announced that the killing took place in the northern sector of the zone dividing the Serb-controlled Krajina and Croatia. This is the first case of a soldier from the peace keeping forces being shot in Croatia.

Tudjman Address Lika Democratic Union Anniversary

LD0804143595 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 8 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The main speaker at the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the Croatian Democratic Union in Lika, held in the Central Square in Gospić today, was Franjo Tuđman, Croatian president and chairman of the Croatian Democratic Union. He received a tumultuous welcome. He thanked the people in Lika for everything they have done in the history of the struggle for the survival of Croatia's statehood, during the homeland war in particular, and spoke about sacrifices that the people of Lika made in that struggle in the past, and today. He then dwelled on the current situation in connection with the latest UN Security Council resolution on the deployment of international community forces in the Republic of Croatia, and said in this respect:

[Begin Tuđman recording] Even though we accepted—having terminated the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] mandate—a new agreement on the presence of international forces in Croatia, it was done, my dear friends—in order not to enter into a conflict with the entire world, which would very eagerly wish to find a reason to impose sanctions against us and to express its dissatisfaction with the existence of the sovereign Croatia.

But, having accepted—and not only accepted—but having suggested that the international forces should stay here, but with a new role: To be deployed on Croatia's international borders, and to deploy observers within the occupied areas who will oversee the peaceful reintegration of occupied areas in the constitutional and legal order of the Republic of Croatia in this we bore in mind the kind of world we live in, the state of international relations, and also the fact that we do not have to suffer further casualties if it is unnecessary.

So far we have had 12,000 people killed and missing in Croatia; we have had 35,000 wounded and made invalids. If I can save one Croatian life and still achieve Croatian freedom I will do so, and this will be in the interest of every Croat, every nation. [applause] [end recording]

Report on Housing for Disabled Veterans
95BA0205E Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 13 Mar 95 p 8

[Interview with Aleksandar Russo, deputy minister in the Administration for Housing and Municipal Services

of the Ministry for Land Use Planning, Construction, and Housing, by Margareta Zouhar; place and date not given: "Houses for a Road to a Better Life"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The cornerstone was laid in the Zagreb settlement of Borovje on 21 February for construction of the first five houses for the most seriously (100-percent) disabled veterans of the Homeland War, and in the last several days builders have completed the foundations. All those on the list for the 110 units to be built are the most seriously handicapped who have said they want housing, and the government has approved that list. In keeping with their own life plans, these disabled persons will select the city in which they will live, and a house will be built there for each of them.

Aleksandar Russo, deputy minister in the Administration for Housing and Municipal Services of the Ministry of Land Use Planning, Construction, and Housing, is supervisor of the technical aspect of the effort referred to as "the 112-house project." Aleksandar Russo is also a member of the technical commission of the Government of the Republic of Croatia [RH] for the welfare of victims of the Homeland War, and he had this to say about the project in question:

[Russo] Because the names of the future tenants have been arriving during the last few months, cities and opstinas have been offering building lots where the houses can be built. The main criterion was respect for the handicapped person's wish as to where he would like to live in the future. An effort was made to keep the houses out of the suburbs, but closer to the center of the city, so that medical, cultural, and other facilities would be more accessible to the disabled persons. The desire of members of the operational staff of the RH Government for the welfare of the most seriously disabled veterans of the Homeland War was to accommodate these people in a humanitarian way, because this represents their resocialization.

24 Houses in Zagreb

[Zouhar] At what locations in Zagreb will the houses be built?

[Russo] In Zagreb, there will be 24 houses built in the settlement Borovje, on Falerovo Setaliste, in Dubrava, and in Zapresic.

[Zouhar] Where in Croatia are the other houses located?

[Russo] The projects are located in the zupanijas. There will be one house built in the Medjumurje, Koprivnica-Krizevac, and Varazdin Zupanijas, two houses in the Pozega-Slavonia, Karlovac, Virovitica-Drava, and Lika-Senj Zupanijas, three houses in the Zadar-Knin Zupanija, four in the Istria and Bjelovar-Bilogora Zupanijas, five in the Zagreb, Sibenik, Primorje-Goranye, and Sisak-Moslavci Zupanijas, and six houses will be built in the Dubrovnik-Neretva and Vukovar-Srijem Zupanijas,

eight houses in the Split-Dalmatia Zupanija, 10 in the Brod-Sava Zupanija, and 14 houses in the Osijek-Baranja Zupanija.

[Zouhar] What is the floor area of the houses for handicapped persons in your designs?

[Russo] The houses have been designed with special adaptations for the handicapped, and they will be built according to the number of family members with whom the disabled person will be living, be it relatives, spouse, or guardian. The design calls for every house to have a living room, dining room, bedroom for the disabled person, a bathroom solely for his use, and then a bathroom for other family members and rooms for other family members, a closet, a storeroom, and some also have a work space. The largest house in the design has a dining room and four bedrooms. The houses will not have a basement or attic, because a disabled person in a wheelchair cannot go there, but each will have a garage with a remote door opener and a telephone, and its exterior will be adapted to local conditions.

The First Houses by July

[Zouhar] What is the financial package behind this project?

[Russo] The project's investor is the RH Government, which has approved the funds necessary to build the houses. The houses will be equipped to meet all the technical conditions of sanitary hygiene. But there will also be special equipment to meet the specific needs of the handicapped.

[Zouhar] When do you expect the first house to be built and ready for occupancy?

[Russo] Construction of the houses in Borovje has begun, and those first five houses should be ready in 110 workdays, which means in early July. That is the conclusion of the operational staff of the RH Government for the handicapped, which was established last July, to begin with the construction of houses in Zagreb, and then use that experience and what has been learned in building the other projects in the RH. Every disabled person has been individually informed about the design, which he then signed, thereby confirming that he concurs in that design. Before signing, he may also seek certain minor modifications, which the team of designers honors. This means that all the houses need not be the same in detail.

[Zouhar] When will construction of the houses begin in other cities of Croatia?

[Russo] According to our plan, construction of the other houses should begin this spring unless major problems arise with issuance of building permits or dealing with issues in property law. Although the construction sites are located all over Croatia, the time frame and quality will be the same for all the contractors. According to the

plans of the Ministry of Land Use Planning, Construction, and Housing, 110 houses in Croatia for the most seriously disabled veterans of the Homeland War should be built by January 1996, or they should be very close to completion by that time.

Valentic Discusses Stabilization Program

95BA0205C Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 11
Mar 95 p 5

[Article by Nikola Jelic: "The State Is Going Into the Banks"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatia's zupans, who met last Thursday in Stubice Toplice at their 12th collegium, had the privilege of being the first to hear something more about the financial rescue of the Croatian banks that has been trumpeted so much and to hear it from the lips of Prime Minister Nikica Valentic himself, who has finally made public the model by which the "ailing" commercial banks are to be transformed into healthier financial institutions and at the same time undertake restructuring of the economy, i.e., resolution of the principal current bad debts of the economy. Along with the now-familiar refrains to the effect that "the government is not departing from its program and is not resorting to the printing of money to solve its problems," Valentic warned that the cycle of bank illiquidity must be broken urgently.

"Very large debts of the Croatian economy are concentrated in the commercial banks, so that their balance sheets are more than 50 percent fictitious," he said, giving the example of Rijeka Banka [Bank of Rijeka], which is demanding \$142 million from shipbuilding alone. How, then, is this problem to be tackled? "The fictitious balance sheets of the bank have to be written off," the prime minister was clear, and he clarified what this means: "About 6 billion kunas, the amount of the bank claims, will have to be taken over by the state, and that means the taxpayers!" That job will be carried out on behalf of the state by the Agency for Rescue of the Banks—"through which the state will be entering the banks, and in that way it will be able to monitor them."

This move will not, of course, solve all the current problems (the prime minister did not talk about those losing small amounts); that is, it will not be possible to completely restructure the large-scale losers, whose "bad debts" run to 12 million kunas, or 3 million German marks [DM]: Shipbuilding accounts for no less than 5.5 billion kunas of that, and the agricultural combines and petrochemical industry each account for 3 billion kunas in losses.

"For the present, we must find all the funds for restructuring among our own resources, because we do not have foreign loans to meet those needs," Prime Minister Valentic added, letting the zupans know that the situation is not easy by any means. If the 6 billion kunas mentioned are, in fact, "written off" through the Agency

for Rescue of the Banks, there still remain 6 billion of "bare debts"! The prime minister also has an answer for this: "We must get the remaining funds mostly from privatization," he said, citing the sale of Tesla to the Swedish Ericsson as an excellent example, "but also from the state budget, i.e., from the profit of public firms," citing here the example of the HEP [Croatian Electric Power Industry], which has already become involved in restructuring.

Execution Begins in Late March

Nikica Valentic referred to urgency as an important point in the strategic program: "Execution must begin by the end of this month"—probably because he himself is aware that failure to solve these problems "threatens a return of inflation." But there is another hole in the Croatian prime minister's global stabilization plans that urgently needs to be plugged: the shortage of programs and people! We lack programs for restructuring and people who will be willing and able to tackle that job, Valentic said, sending a clear message that the people who created the present losses, regardless of the reasons, cannot participate in repairing those losses.

What else did Prime Minister Valentic announce? Aside from the sale of military housing that has already been made public—"those units that are not questionable"—he says that the next government step is to reform the customs system. He gave as a reason for that step the example of the Slovene-Croatian border, on which about DM250 million "evaporated" last year alone! As to long-range plans, the head of the Croatian Government said nothing except to optimistically forecast a growth of employment, "if we hold out for the next six months."

But Dr. Jure Radic, minister for reconstruction and development, who also took up the problem of employment, but in a different light, had quite a bit to say about that instead of him. That is, criticizing Croatia's demographic policy up to this point—"which has been conducted badly and amateurishly"—Radic warned of the danger of the Croatian population being halved in 60 years! "Unless the economic conditions are created for demographic renewal of the country, and unless the Croatian demographic distribution is corrected, Croatia is threatened with a great danger of a manpower shortage"—the minister for reconstruction said. So our country might soon have a shortage of employees, rather than a surplus, Dr. Radic concluded on the basis of his ministry's plans for reconstruction: This year alone about 3 billion kunas will be invested in development of the infrastructure, 12 large construction projects will be started this very month, approval of concessions will follow very quickly, and preparations for reconstruction of the occupied areas are supposed to be undertaken immediately.

The government's stabilization picture was rounded out by Ivan Penic, minister for privatization, who presented to the zupans the draft of the Law on Privatization. But neither the prime minister nor his ministers forgot to

remind the heads of the Croatian zupanijas of their responsibility for successful execution of the stabilization program. "None of this can be carried out without consensus; we must all be driving in the same direction," Valentic said, offering ministerial cooperation to the zupans with the words—"the ministers are not sacred cows." In saying that, he was also responding to a large number of critical remarks by the zupans about how the government is shut off from the zupanijas and their problems.

Helicopters Used in Antisubmarine Warfare

95BA0205D Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 12 Mar 95 p 13

[Article by Igor Aborghetti: "Death to Serbian Submarines"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In a recent exercise in Dubrovnik waters, the Croatian Navy [HRM] and Croatian Air Force [HRZ] showed for the first time in public a new form of antisubmarine warfare. It involves the use of Mil-24 Hind D helicopters in hunting submarines, i.e., combat action of this type of aircraft, which according to professional literature is not characteristic of this aircraft. Quite a bit has been written about use of the Mil-24, mainly because they became part of the HRZ.

This aircraft is above all an antiarmor helicopter that can carry up to 12 soldiers and provide fire support to infantry. That is also the configuration of the armament it carries, including guided and nonguided missiles, 250-kg bombs, and a 12.7-mm Gatling gun under the "nose."

Symbiosis of Eastern and Western Technology

The modified purpose developed by Croatian experts for the Hind opens up a number of new possibilities for its combat use against submerged targets, but there is no doubt that it also deserves the attention of the general public and experts. It is, of course, extremely important that Croatian Hinds will give a still greater headache to Serbian admirals who in the future will think very carefully before they send submarines on regular patrols. Military experts have warned of the presence of Serbian submarines on the perimeter of Croatian territorial waters, submerging in relative safety because of the limited antisubmarine capabilities of the HRM. By contrast with other military equipment, the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] managed to pull out of Croatia all the Kamov Ka-25 Hormone and Ka-27 Helix antisubmarine helicopters that were stationed at the Divulje base not far from Split, as well as the Mil-14 Haze from the Mostar Airport. These helicopters, the Ka-27 Helix in particular, procured from Russia before disintegration of the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], are extremely "well-fitted" for combat against submarines, but there have been no reports at all

on their use since they have been stationed in Montenegro. The Serbs transferred to Kotor Bay all submarines in the Sava and Heroj class, which are armed with 533-mm torpedoes, while the newer Sava class also carries 20 mines, which represents an extremely serious threat to Croatia, because by laying mines the Serbs could prevent merchant shipping.

Detecting Submarines

Another interesting detail was noted during the joint exercise of the HRZ and HRM. It is said that the torpedo fired from the helicopter was manufactured in the West. This symbiosis of Eastern and Western technology, i.e., of a Russian helicopter and a torpedo manufactured in the West, is not the first in the HV [Croatian Army]. For instance, the missile destroyer in the Petar Kresimir IV class has a Swedish Bofors system to guide the fire from a Russian antiaircraft cannon in the stern.

There can be quite a bit of guesswork about the type of torpedo, but certain military experts are inclined to say that it is the U.S. Mk-46. This weapon is used in a large number of navies all over the world, and it is fired from surface vessels, helicopters, and airplanes. The weapon has a high attack speed and also a long range and both active and passive guidance. The length of the Mk-46 torpedo is 2.6 meters and its diameter is 324 mm. This type of torpedo has undergone several modernizations since 1967, when it went into military use, and all the models have proved to be extremely effective.

Experts also mention the importance of the system for detection of submarines and the actual guidance of torpedoes against the submerged target. There are usually two ways of guiding the torpedo: The first is completely independent action of the helicopter; that is, the aircraft has electronic equipment or sensors and sonars with which it locates the target and enters all the data automatically into the head of the torpedo, which is then launched. This method of detecting a submarine would require rather extensive technical modifications on the helicopter, the experts say, and so it is more likely that the target is detected by sonar on one of the vessels of the HRM and reported to the helicopter crew, which then undertakes to launch the torpedo.

Far more important than all these analyses is the fact that the Croatian Air Force and Navy have new capabilities for tactical operation that plug all the "holes" through which Serbian submarines would move on a possible surprise attack. This also rounds out the monitoring of Croatian waters above, on the surface, and below the sea.

Deputy Injured on Zagreb-Lipovac Highway

95BA0205G Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 15 Mar 95 p 2

[Article by Josip Antic: "They Intended To Kidnap Prkacini"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb—"The kidnapping of Ante Prkacin was the objective in the traffic accident in the UNPA [UN Protected Area] in which that Croatian politician was seriously injured. This is suggested by the fact that unknown persons wanted to transport the injured Prkacin to Okucani and then to the hospital in Banja Luka, whereupon he most likely would 'succumb to his injuries.'" Alluding to a conversation with Prkacin and emphasizing that their version differs from the report of Minister Jarnjak to deputies in the parliament, this was asserted in a news conference on Tuesday by Boris Kandare and Anto Djapic, leaders of the HSP [Croatian Rights Party].

At the same time, they lodged a stern protest because at the start of the session Vladimir Seks, vice president of the parliament, did not allow Kandare to inform the House of Representatives about Prkacin's accident and call upon the parliament to lodge a sharp protest with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces]. The Rightists say that their version also differs from the official report in that it is not possible that Croatian special police helped Prkacin by transporting him to the hospital in Slavonski

Brod, as asserted by Minister Jarnjak. Djapic says that by gentleman's agreement the limited-access highway cannot be patrolled in that section by members of Croatian units, but only by patrols of UNPROFOR and the Serbian rebels. The Rightists do admit that in the bus from Zagreb in which Prkacin was taken to Slavonski Brod there were plainclothes members of special units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Deputy Prkacin, Djapic added, first traveled by the limited-access highway between Slavonski Brod and Zagreb, which was considered dangerous in the party, because they were convinced that it was only a question of time before the rebels, after close shadowing, and a possible notice from Slavonski Brod, would attempt to carry out their intentions. Today, Ante Prkacin is the victim of a gentleman's agreement, and tomorrow this could be Drazen Budisa or any other Croatian politician, Djapic said.

Prkacin was at this time supposed to be leading a party delegation to a previously scheduled conversation with Hans Koschnick in Mostar.

Gligorov on Relations With Balkan States

LD0804193195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1602 GMT 8 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 8 Apr (TANJUG)—In an interview broadcast over Macedonian state radio today, Kiro Gligorov, president of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], reiterated his country's readiness for cooperation and good relations with all Balkan countries.

In his statement for Skopje radio on the occasion of the second anniversary of FYROM's admission to the United Nations, Gligorov spoke about Macedonia's endeavors for open borders and an active position in cooperation with all countries in the region.

"Our siding with any of the Balkan countries will cause a reaction by other countries in the region, and will an obstacle to our relations with all. By convincing all of these Balkan states that Macedonia is its own master, and that it wishes to build the best possible relations with all on this basis, we will halt the ambitions aimed at regrouping, at changing what has already been confirmed as a historical victory for our nation," Gligorov concluded.

Gligorov on Greek 'Obstructions' to Participation

AU1004115695 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 10 Apr 95 p 4

[Unattributed report on interview with FYROM President Kiro Gligorov "for Macedonian Radio" in Skopje on 8 April: "Reality Wins"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiro Gligorov, president of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] stated the following in his interview for Macedonian Radio on the occasion of the second anniversary of Macedonia's admittance to the United Nations:

"I had no illusions that, after the admittance to the United Nations, our admittance to international organizations would go smoothly. The obstructions that block our participation in the international community are coming primarily from the Balkan region. The fact that 14 of the 15 states of the EU have recognized Macedonia and that the only Balkan country not to recognize it is Greece, clearly demonstrates that the EU has understood the reality of the situation but has internal problems that can obstruct our inclusion in the international community. For instance, it blocks us from using EU assistance, but that is a lost battle."

Regarding Greece's statements that Macedonia has avoided signing an agreement on the inviolability of borders, President Gligorov stressed:

"Not only have we not avoided it, but we have been proposing it from the very outset, and we are ready to sign an agreement on the inviolability of the borders. It

has been entered into our Constitution as well. We are ready to sign such agreements with the Greeks, as well as with any other neighbor. We have never made this an obstacle to, as we call it, the solution of these irrational disputes with Greece."

Regarding the FRY's [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] request for the role of exclusive successor to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [SFRY], a condition that Greece has imposed for its recognition of Macedonia, Gligorov stated that it is an irrational and ungrounded request because all the constitutions of the former Yugoslavia treated the republics as states. Since that community has broken up, each of those states is now a successor to that community.

"Here we can also include the question that surprised me the most in Butrus-Ghali's report, while all the other issues are a matter of inconsistency: To say that the border between us and the FRY is an administrative border is absurd because, fortunately, in all the acts of the international community—including all UN, EU, OSCE, and NATO resolutions regarding the Yugoslav crisis—the starting position is that the borders of the former Yugoslav republics are recognized internationally.

I would like to believe that it was only a mistake, because it is contrary not only to our views, but also to the decisions reached by the United Nations, which is headed by Butrus-Ghali." This was stated by President Gligorov in his interview for Macedonian Radio.

German Ambassador Praises Country's 'Wise Policy'

AU0804195395 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 1430 GMT 7 Apr 95

[Interview with German Ambassador Hans-Lothar Steppan by Todor Keramitcievski; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Keramitcievski] Your Excellency, could you make a comparison of the situation in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] now and when you came here?

[Steppan] I would really like to make such a comparison because I have had many opportunities to observe the great difference. I remember when I was appointed ambassador: There was a reception by Assembly Chairman Stojan Andov that was attended only by the German consul and a few other foreign representatives—the Greek and Turkish representatives, and the representative of the former CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe]. Compared to this, last year, for instance, a similar reception was attended by many representatives from all over the world. There were diplomats, as well as representatives of a large number of international organizations staying in Macedonia, which was a completely changed situation and a situation that is becoming similar to that in other, newly

created, modern states. For a state that was created a few years ago, it is extreme progress, and although it is only in the foreign political field, it is of great importance.

[Keramitcievski] What will Mr. Kinkel be faced with when he arrives in Macedonia? What is your opinion about the present political situation?

[Steppan] There is one answer that I could connect with what I have just mentioned in my previous statement, about the extremely good reception of the young Macedonian state throughout the world. On the other hand, you are faced with major problems because of the policy of your southern neighbor, which we believe will be solved through the mediation of Cyrus Vance. Nevertheless, considering the situation in the other parts of the former Yugoslavia, Mr. Kinkel will fortunately be visiting a country that, thanks to its wise policy, has remained outside the conflicts, and I hope it will remain that way in the future. I am sure that he appreciates this very much and that he will give his support and make his contribution to the stability of the country and to its development.

[Keramitcievski] Would you like to tell us something about the present development of Macedonian-German relations?

[Steppan] I will be very happy to do so because this is a very pleasant subject to talk about. I cannot describe our relations as anything other than impressive. Whatever sector of these relations is taken into consideration, they are really excellent.

Let us start with the political. German Foreign Minister Kinkel, during his visit to Macedonia, will be received—and we appreciate it very much—by the president of the Republic, the prime minister, and other top officials. This also proves the high level of our relations. Besides this, Germany is constantly trying to give Macedonia its political support, although it sometimes used to be very restrictive. As far as economic relations are concerned, on such occasions as this, I always stress the fact that the economic links between the two countries are of great importance. It is of the greatest importance for Macedonia that, in spite of all foreign pressures and the economic blockades from the north, Serbia, and the south—the Greek embargo that has caused enormous damages—Macedonia still has a positive balance of trade with Germany. There is no need for me to say that many countries would like to be in that position. I think that this is a good proof of our excellent economic relations. Moreover, I would like to say that the German minister of economic cooperation will soon visit Macedonia, when it will be possible to revise the relations heretofore, to accomplish the current plans, and to project future ones. Finally, our cultural links are more than excellent.

[Keramitcievski] In your opinion, considering the new role of Germany in Europe after the fall of the Berlin

Wall, does your country look upon Macedonia as upon a part of the common European life?

[Steppan] Definitely. No other answer but definitely. Macedonia is a European country and its future belongs to Europe, and we hope it will soon be within the ranks of the EU, as will some other newly created states from East and Central Europe. However, I think the timing is not that important. It is important that we are willing to accept all the states that want to join us. Our task, and the task of the EU, is to pave their way.

Albanians Appointed Consuls in Europe

AU0804195095 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 7 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Upon a proposal by the Party for Democratic Prosperity, the Government of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] has appointed three Albanians to the post of consul—in Bonn, Bern, and Brussels.

Ramadan Nazifi from Skopje has been appointed consul in Bonn, Germany and Dahin Iljazi from Tetovo in Bern, Switzerland, while Refik Cice from Diber has been appointed consul in Brussels, Belgium.

This is the first time since the fall of communism in Macedonia that the diplomacy of this country incorporates three new Albanians to the post of diplomatic consul.

Data on FYROM Albanian TV Broadcasting

95P20690A Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 18 Mar 95 p 15

[Interview with Skender Raufi, chief of Albanian-language broadcasts for Macedonian Television, by N. Zejnullahu; place and date not given: "Three Hours Behind Europe"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Albanian television viewers in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] know that, in addition to the Albanian-language Journal, Macedonian Television [TVM] has been transmitting several other programs in Albanian, mainly translated programs. In order to inform our readers on this expansion—which, it is said, took place without the approval of the Albanian editorial staff—and on other matters with which this medium is currently concerned, we met with editor Skender Raufi, chief of Albanian broadcasts for TVM.

[N. Zejnullahu] Mr. Raufi, can you tell us, in a few words, how your editorial staff operates at the present time?

[Raufi] Right now, our editorial staff is operating just as it has operated up to now. That is, we are holders or carriers of a one-hour program. From a legal aspect, as you said yourself, we are an editorial staff and not a program, which was the old idea. In regard to volume, we

have two hours—one hour prepared by us and the other prepared by the TVM translation services, which process programs from the around the world, and we have no say in regard to this.

[Zejnnullahu] Your editorial staff requested that the program be expanded to three hours. There is one more hour now. Why won't you accept this expansion?

[Raufi] Indeed, you know that we requested three plus one hours. That is, three basic hours and one hour of rebroadcasts. In the meantime, TVM, because of shortages of equipment and personnel and other reasons, thought it was a good idea for the present, in the transitional period, to devote two hours of broadcasting time to the Albanian people. However, on 9 March, an agreement was signed between RTVM [Macedonian Radiotelevision] and the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia headed by Gert Ahrens, guaranteeing that we would have three hours, with the receipt of the money which Swiss and Danish donors will be giving—about 1 million deutsche marks. This will make it possible to install equipment, set up a studio with new installation units, and form three "BETA" teams.

At this time, we are cooperating and structuring this two-hour schedule on the basis of the fundamental needs of the Albanians living in Macedonia. We have formulated a plan and in the concluding phase of negotiations with the director of TVM to get another hour.

[Zejnnullahu] And when do you think you will be getting this hour?

[Raufi] The discussions are near conclusion. Only the final talks with the director remain. In my opinion, it won't take more than a month. [passage omitted]

[Zejnnullahu] The Albanian-language editorial unit is extremely understaffed. What are your staffing plans?

[Raufi] As you know, there only 15 of us (in the journalistic area), which is an extraordinarily small number to "support" a one-hour program. We are also limping along in the technical area. We have a lot of problems. [passage omitted]

[Zejnnullahu] We were told that the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia also discussed the matter of obtaining resources for Albanian-language radio broadcasting. Was radio excluded from the latest agreement?

[Raufi] That is correct. But radio, as a medium, is much freer than TV. However, our TV will not be the only medium to benefit from this conference. Other media, which are not independent and which we could call state media, will also receive assistance. For example, the

Conference on the Former Yugoslavia will certainly finance Radio Skopje, but the funding will be less than it is for TV.

[Zejnnullahu] What do you think about the role of your editorial staff in creating opinion, especially by means of its commentaries? How influential are these broadcasts in forming opinion among the consumers?

[Raufi] I can make only a few superficial comments about this. I think our Journal is relatively conservative in appearance. It is not our idea to be passive and to be driven by events, even though this is possible. We are making efforts, and the spectators can judge whether we lead any movements, be they political, economic or cultural...we have seven summaries that are prepared each day by the journalists, and three or four of them usually deal with the problems of Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia and outside Macedonia.

[Zejnnullahu] Do the politics of the day have any influence on the content of your broadcasts?

It cannot be said that there is any TV that is 100 percent independent. Nevertheless, I give you my word that the politics of the day have little or no influence on the overall editorial policy.

[Zejnnullahu] What about the Albanian parties?

[Raufi] We always make an effort to present the Albanian parties with a certain reciprocity. But the final product is another matter, because there is much controversy about the registration and funding of the Albanian political parties here in the Republic of Macedonia. We are often criticized for favoring Albanian political parties over Macedonian political parties. This is a justified criticism. Our intention is not to shut out anyone but, on the contrary, to open up the dialogue not only to Albanian political parties but, in general, to opinions that are different from ours. We might translate some of our broadcasts so that the Macedonians will know what Albanians think about an issue. Otherwise, TV will remain a form of intercommunication among Albanians. We know what we are looking for and what we want. We know our intentions and we transmit them each day.

[Zejnnullahu] Some of the viewers have the impression that politics is the dominant factor in your broadcasts and not only in the Journal. What do you have to say about this?

[Raufi] Indeed, the times are politicized! I would say that politics predominates, but we do not neglect the economy, the social sector or the activities of the inspectorate. So far this month, we have had only two discussions with Albanian political figures, and the other broadcasts in the series "Conversation on a Topic" were devoted to discussions with economists. [passage omitted]

Federal

PRC Talks Held in 'Atmosphere of Understanding'

AU0904203095 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 9 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The first round of official Yugoslav talks between Yugoslav Federal Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic and PRC Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Qian Qichen was held in the Palace of the Federation this afternoon. The two-hour talks have passed in an atmosphere of understanding and the traditionally friendly relations of the two countries. The talks touched upon bilateral relations and the possibilities of advancing [obogacivanje] and expanding them following the lifting of the sanctions and the peace process.

Both sides positively assessed the intensification of the political dialogue and ties in all spheres, ranging from cultural, educational, and scientific to economic cooperation. The two countries' governments' readiness to further expand economic cooperation and conclude interstate legal documents that would regulate the [sphere], was expressed.

It has been asserted that the basic agreement on economic cooperation has reached the final stage and that it will be signed soon.

A unified stand in the talks has been expressed to the effect that the problems that came about following the secession of individual republics can be solved only in a peaceful political way, giving due respect to interests and equally treating all sides in the conflict, and without prejudging the final solution and pressures from outside.

During the first round of talks held by the Yugoslav and Chinese foreign ministers today, the significance of the Contact Group's plan for Bosnia as a basis for further negotiations was reaffirmed, as well as the Vance plan as regards the bases between the republic of Serbian Krajina and Croatia.

During the exchange of opinions between Jovanovic and Qian Qichen, our side has expressed recognition of China's principled and objective stand in treating the crisis on the territory of previous Yugoslavia. At the same time, it expressed gratitude for humanitarian aid that China has been sending to our country.

More on Talks

LD1004134895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1219 GMT 10 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 10 Apr (TANJUG)—Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], received Qian Qichen, PRC vice premier and foreign affairs minister, in the White Palace today.

The office of the FRY president has announced that during cordial talks they established that both countries are very interested in strengthening friendly relations and bilateral cooperation in all fields. They discussed concrete spheres of cooperation and all aspects of preparations for its implementation, in line with the possibilities opened by moves toward easing and eventually lifting the sanctions.

They also share similar views on the issue of solving the crisis in the territory of former Yugoslavia. President Lilic stressed that the peace process is at a crossroads from which either the road of escalating hostilities or the road of finally establishing peace can be pursued. The international community has a fateful role in deciding whether peacemaking policy will be rewarded or the war option favored.

As for the FRY, peace is its strategic commitment and it will persevere in its peace-oriented policy. We firmly believe, Lilic stressed, that the lifting of sanctions is the condition for establishing a lasting peace. If not, the only alternative is the encouragement of extreme forces, which exist on all sides. In that context, the FRY president specified that the attempts to condition the lifting of the sanctions with other demands are unacceptable and illegitimate.

The PRC vice premier said that the PRC believes that the sanctions cannot be a means of restoring peace, that they only caused huge damage and suffering to a majority of the people. The lifting of the sanctions can only be linked with the Security Council resolutions which stipulated their imposition.

Qian Qichen agreed with President Lilic's opinion that a solution can only be found through equal treatment of all sides in conflict in former Bosnia-Herzegovina and through direct negotiations, which implies certain concessions on all sides.

The eminent guest from China expressed special satisfaction with the FRY's determination and lasting commitment to a peace-orientated policy. If the problems are not solved by peaceful means, Qian Qichen added, that will cause incalculable damage not only to this region but to the whole of Europe. A peaceful solution in this part of the Balkans will usher in the possibility for cooperation between the former Yugoslav republics, which means hope for the whole of Europe. This is a long-term goal.

But, Qian Qichen explained, mutual recognition and establishing good neighborly relations cannot be conditioned with the lifting of the sanctions. He added that China's principled stance is that the lifting of the sanctions can only contribute to achieving this goal. Qian Qichen also stressed that the most important thing now is urgently to extend the cease-fire in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that this is the only way to buy time for finding a political solution.

President Lilic thanked China for its objective and principled stances on the crisis in the territory of the

former Yugoslavia and said that Yugoslavia expects the People's Republic of China—especially considering its important role in the international community and in the Security Council—to make an even more decisive contribution to peace in the future, especially after the sanctions are lifted. The FRY president expressed special support for the basic principles of behavior in international relations, which the Chinese representative recently presented at the United Nations, and said that they made a contribution to establishing understanding, cooperation, and peace in the world. This is said in conclusion of the statement on the talks between Lilic and Chian.

Recognition of Bosnia, Croatia 'Premature'

LD0704124495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1053
GMT 7 Apr 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Podgorica, Apr. 7 (TANJUG)—The international community's demand for Yugoslavia to recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia in their internationally-recognized borders in return for suspension of anti-Yugoslav sanctions was premature, Yugoslav Deputy Foreign Minister Radoslav Bulajic said Friday.

'We cannot recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia as subjects of international law if the Serbs, a constituent people in them, do not recognize them,' Bulajic told the Montenegrin radio. 'We ask that the war end, that consensus be reached on each disputed question, and when some sort of union or confederation in Bosnia-Herzegovina is created in which the Bosnian Serb Republic would also exist, then we can talk about international recognition,' said Bulajic.

In Bulajic's view, Yugoslavia's position has now significantly improved because, as he said, the truth about the conflicts in the territory of the former Yugoslavia and about the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's peaceful policy has made its way into the world. Bulajic said the lifting of U.N. sanctions against Yugoslavia was contingent not on the U.N. Charter or international law, but on the political will of some great powers. The fact, however, remains that Yugoslavia has met all the conditions for the lifting of sanctions, said Yugoslav Deputy Foreign Minister Radoslav Bulajic.

Belgrade To Host First Balkan Trade Fair in May

LD0604203195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1712
GMT 6 Apr 95

["Ecopool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sofia, April 6 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav businessmen announced on Thursday that Belgrade would host the first Balkan trade fair in late May.

Belgrade Fair Director Sinisa Zaric and Representative of the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy in Bulgaria Radivoje Andonovic told reporters at Sofia's international press center that the organizers from the Association of Balkan Chambers of Economy also expected economic associations from third countries to take part in the fair.

Commenting on a recent initiative of the Greek and Bulgarian foreign ministers for lifting the anti-Yugoslav sanctions, Andonovic said that Yugoslav businessmen hoped the initiative would help rectify the injustice done to their country which favors a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

Stefan Pejkov, chairman of the newly set-up Bulgarian-Yugoslav Business Club, said that the Balkan countries had the right to present their potentials at the fair in Belgrade although the sanctions had not been fully lifted.

The detrimental effects of the sanctions are felt in Bulgaria too and those who have imposed the economic blockade have caused enormous and irreparable damage to the Balkan peoples, he said.

Pejkov also said that, notwithstanding the terms prescribed by the international community, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria should be concerned about their own national interests and find ways to promote economic cooperation even under the sanctions.

Serbia

Milosevic, PRC's Qian Discuss Developing Ties

LD1004132095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1215 GMT 10 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 10 Apr (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, said today that Serbia has great respect for China's attitude and its position regarding the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis.

"China has demonstrated a very high degree of impartiality and understanding," Milosevic said in a brief statement to the press following his talks with Qian Qichen, Chinese vice premier and foreign minister.

Expressing his satisfaction with being able to welcome the eminent guest from China who is paying an official visit to our state, Milosevic recalled the fact that China has never, on any occasion, supported the imposition of sanctions against our country.

China advocates a policy of equality between nations and states, Milosevic said. "We believe that based on firm principles and justice, this support for the policy of equality between nations and states will eventually triumph on the international political stage," the Serbian president said.

Summarizing his talks with the Chinese minister, Milosevic said that bilateral relations were also discussed. "We concluded that conditions exist for our cooperation in almost all areas of the economy and culture," he stressed.

"We expect that this visit by our eminent guest will help to strengthen the friendship between our two countries and that it will open up ways for further intensive cooperation between Yugoslavia and China," Milosevic said.

Minister Qian said that he had extensive talks with President Milosevic and that they discussed the development of bilateral relations between the two states as well as the development of economic cooperation between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and China.

"We are aware of the difficulties faced by Yugoslavia under sanctions," Minister Qichen pointed out and went on to say that China is prepared for a speedy development of economic relations with Yugoslavia after the sanctions against Belgrade are lifted.

Commenting on the crisis in former Yugoslavia, Minister Qian said that China supports the peace process.

"We want Yugoslavia to have its role in the region. If peace is restored, that will suit not only the interests of Yugoslavia but also the interests of its neighbors," the Chinese foreign minister said.

DS Encourages Bosnian Serbs To Accept Minimum

AU0704205095 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Apr 95 p 3

["S.N.A.," "M.T."-initialed report: "Recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina; Defining of Territorial Goals"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—We advise the Srpska republic leadership to launch a peace initiative despite the offensives that are currently in progress, Zoran Djindjic, president of the Democratic Party [DS] said yesterday when asked about the topics discussed by the representatives of the DS and the Srpska republic in Pale two days ago.

We propose that the acceptable minimum be taken from all of the international community's earlier proposals, after which a proposal based on these earlier proposals would be drafted and submitted to the Muslim side and other participants in the negotiations, Djindjic said in a statement for NASA BORBA. This would show a willingness to end the war this year, the DS president added.

Explaining what the DS considered to be the minimum that the Pale leadership should concede, Djindjic said: It is our belief that the minimum entails acknowledging the existence of Bosnia-Herzegovina because it is a UN member; it is now pointless to request that it be excluded and its status changed. Bosnia-Herzegovina as a confederation, as a joint state.... that is something that would satisfy the Contact Group members, and I believe that this is not unacceptable from the point of goals and interests of the Serbian people in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Second—added the DS president—it is essential that territorial goals are defined, that they do not constantly hang in the air, from 70 percent downwards, because this would allow for more concrete negotiations about the quality of the territory.

If everything is unclear—the status of the state, the percentage, and the quality of the territory—then the chances are slim that some kind of agreement will be reached, Zoran Djindjic said. He declined to comment on how the Srpska republic leadership responded to the DS's proposals, since, said Djindjic, the answer was not definite.

Belgrade Groups To Stage Rally Against War

AU0604125595 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Apr 95 p 3

[BETA-attributed report: "Protest Against War in Bosnia To Be Held in Belgrade Today"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—On the third anniversary of the outbreak of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, an antiwar rally will be held in Belgrade tomorrow [as published] in the organization of six Belgrade antiwar organizations.

The protest against the war in Bosnia, which broke out on 6 April 1992, will be held at the central city Republic Square from 1530 [1330] to 1630, said the organizers: Women in Black, group To Live in Sarajevo, the Center for Antiwar Activities, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights, the Belgrade Circle, and the Belgrade Youth Forum.

They have warned that, in the three-year-long war, over 250,000 people have been killed, 27,000 have gone missing, there are over 1,700,000 refugees and expelled people, and that civilians have made up 80 percent of the total casualties.

According to information from the Belgrade antiwar organizations, of the 10,500 killed in Sarajevo, 1,700 have been children. "These are not just figures, these are human tragedies," the organizers of the rally against the war in Bosnia say, adding: "Let us ask ourselves whether we have done enough to stop this war. Have we forgotten 6 April 1941 [World War II German bombing of Belgrade]?"

Economy Minister Notes Damage Caused by Sanctions

LD1004103195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1013 GMT 10 Apr 95

["Ecopool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, April 10 (TANJUG)—Minister of Industry of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Oskar Fodor has told TANJUG that economic sanctions are becoming a growing obstacle to Yugoslavia's economy on the rise.

'A removal of the sanctions would give a new quality to the country's economy because exporters would quickly turn toward the world market,' Fodor said. He said Yugoslavia would this year register a nine-percent rise of industrial production, despite the regime of sanctions.

The growth of industrial production would have to be carefully measured out this year because an excessive rise would prove counterproductive in the conditions of sanctions, Fodor said. The Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro have been under a total economic blockade since May 1992, sustaining a loss of at least 45 billion dollars so far.

Fodor said a somewhat excessive economic swing at the end of last year had led to monetary and other disturbances and the weakening of the national currency, prompting the authorities to react at once. He said that, in view of industrial output, all that had been lost in 1993 was made up for in 1994.

Fodor said the 1993 monetary collapse had not influenced production any more than some earlier events had because it had begun to fall in the second three-month period of 1989, declining steadily until early 1994. Those earlier events included illegal borrowing from the central bank, the disruption of free circulation of money and goods among the republics of the Fodor said.

Radio Editor in Belgrade Interviewed

95BA0205B Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 12 Mar 95 p 13

[Interview with Dusan Masic, Radio B92 editor, by Igor Vukic in Zagreb; date not given: "Throwaway Journalists"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The authorities in Serbia have recently stepped up the pressure on the media not under their control. The public is already aware of the cases of the daily newspaper BORBA and Independent Television Studio B, which have been under attack, according to the official explanation, because of irregularities in the transformation of ownership. During his visit to Zagreb, we spoke about the media situation in Serbia with Dusan Masic, one of the news editors on Radio B92, a Belgrade radio station that is also referred to as an independent medium.*

[Vukic] Why is the campaign against the "insubordinate" media being conducted in Serbia right at this juncture?

[Masic] The government has simply judged that the pressures from abroad, because of a new violation of media freedoms, would not be so great that it would have to change its behavior. Now that the peace process is being brought to a conclusion, and now that Milosevic, Serbia, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are playing an important role in that entire story, I do not believe that the outside world will spoil relations with them because of the independent media. Earlier, the

authorities in Serbia needed the independent media, because that was the biggest difference between the Croatian and Serbian authorities: Those media did exist in Serbia, but they did not in Croatia. The electronic media are a constant danger to that kind of authority in any case. Newspapers are not important; anyone can print anything and as much as he likes. Even if they are shut down, it is easier to start them up again. However, television and radio go directly into households, but again, when broadcasting is stopped, it is far more difficult to get it going again.

Stupid Moves Made in Panic

[Vukic] Is that the kind of fate that awaits Radio B92?

[Masic] The assessments vary. Some have the idea that the government, in order to retain some reputation in the world, will leave one medium such as Radio B92, but would restrict its broadcasting area and would not allow it to expand and would not permit new frequencies. On the other hand, we see the kind of moves this government has been making—moves that have nothing to do with the law. They pull out documents that date back four years and present this as the action of a law-governed state. It all looks like panic, and it is well-known that that is when stupid moves are made. I think shutting down Radio B92 would be a very stupid move.

[Vukic] But if it does happen?

[Masic] We will take pains, first, so that it does not happen. There are two ways: first, appealing to the international public to exert pressure from abroad on the authorities in Serbia. A possible attempt to negotiate ourselves with the authorities we do not consider serious, and so probably we will be left with the only other method—an underground struggle. For instance, to tape the programming in some studio and send it out through Serbia on cassettes, or cooperation with ham radio operators or radio pirates....

Into Battle With the Pirates

[Vukic] We have heard that there are quite a few of them in Belgrade.

[Masic] Belgrade at the moment has 56 pirate radio stations, from those that are heard in only two apartment houses to those heard throughout Belgrade. We could join them and go into battle. This, of course, has nothing to do with the law, but one of our moves might be to switch our programming through the pirates to the suitable frequencies of the state radio stations so that people find out what is happening.

[Vukic] If that falls through?

[Masic] Well, it cannot fall through. Only if they arrest us all, that is the only way of stopping us definitively....

[Vukic] As in "Black Bomber"?

[Masic] There, you see, our radio station was one of the inspirations for that film. The frequency of the Black Bomber was 92.5 MHz, which is our frequency. We thought that we perhaps would never see the day, but the times being what they are, it was high time for us to buy a van, just as they do in that film, equip it for broadcasting, find a good driver, and then see what happens. We are also examining the possibility of bringing people together in one place and reading the news, or for our journalists literally to go from house to house and inform them. Another idea would be to read the news over the telephone, and they would gather at someone's place, connect a loudspeaker, and hear us that way. The most terrible happening would be to reconcile ourselves to this and say that these people are stronger than we are and we should keep silent. We need to fight. The most terrible thing is to live in a news blackout here at the end of the 20th century.

We Survived Thanks to Listeners

[Vukic] Under what conditions have you been working up to now?

[Masic] There have been various pressures, threats, and so forth. But one gets used to that. You understand that the independence of a medium means that in the end everyone hates you, both the government and the opposition, and they do so for the same reason—because you do not belong to them. True independence is when you have your own policy for meeting your own criteria, above all professional standards, and that is the only real thing. When a medium is said to belong to the opposition, that is the same thing, only on the other side. Radio B92 has survived thanks to support of its listeners, because people can hear from us something that has not been tailored, things that are in all the world media. We collaborate with a large number of radio stations throughout the world; we follow all the wire services. But we reach only Belgrade with its population of 2 million. The authorities in Serbia know that they have lost Belgrade and they cannot win in what is called Belgrade. They might attempt to capture Belgrade only if they abolish us, clear out the entire news sector, and undertake a new indoctrination, but I think it is too late for that and it would be in vain.

The State Media Are Spreading Darkness

[Vukic] What is the situation in Serbia's interior?

[Masic] Radio B92 is the initiator of the Association of Independent Media, that is, of independent radio stations. At the moment, there are about a dozen of them in the interior. We are trying to send around cassettes with our programming, but it is very hard going, because even the local radio stations are mainly under control. It is fascinating how every day the authorities find new mechanisms for exerting pressure; it is fascinating to see how much creativity they display in this. If they used that energy for something else, many problems would probably have already been solved. For instance, our

friends in Pozarevac have problems with electric power. There are four radio stations in Pozarevac, and three had power, except for that independent station. And then there is the issue of ownership transformation, the pulling out of documents that are three or four years old, but I think that our radio cannot have such problems. We were established five or six years ago, while others date back further. They will have to apply some other scenario to us, and the simplest thing is simply to unplug us. The situation with the media in Serbia is worse now than in 1991, but at that time, on 3 March, there was an entire rebellion aimed directly against them. Now there is talk once again about a new rally that would be directed "against the news blackout," but I am afraid that the reaction of the government will be still more brutal. There were two dead that time; now it could be worse. But the blackout that is spreading through the state media is something incredible. It is harder for me than ordinary people because I am at the source of the news and I know what is happening, and sometimes they will never even learn about it if they look at state television.

The Yes-Men Will End Up Unemployed

[Vukic] What are the relations between the journalists who work in media like Radio B92 and those in the state media? Do you know those people?

[Masic] Ha, what are relations like.... We, of course, know one another, we cover the same events, we know who works for whom, we talk.... I have always been interested in why those people do what they do, do they think that way, or do they get good pay or something of the kind? In the end, it turns out that they do it because they have no alternative. They are not aware that in working this way they will end up with no place to work. This is not a threat at all—simply something called professionalism. If you are unprofessional, the day will come when you will not be able to get a job anywhere. Recently, the officials of that "dependent" association of journalists, the journalists who work in the government media, have been unable to say anything in Belgrade. They go out to some panel discussion in Valjevo, Kraljevo, Kragujevac, and they have bad things to say there about independent journalists, and the government television broadcasts it in Belgrade. They do not even dare to turn up in Belgrade and say those things in public.

[Vukic] Do they feel any shame?

[Masic] No, they simply think that that is how it should be. However, we know what has happened to some people who did the same thing two years ago, and now they have vanished. In the end, these present ones will be used up; they are good for only one-time use. They will be thrown away by the very people who created them.

Government Wants To Halt 'Street Trade'

95BA0206C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Mar 95 p 9

[Article by A. Cubrilo-Kosovac: "Making It More Attractive To Do Business Legally"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Two topics that business people have been debating fiercely for months now, at the same time proposing solutions to overcome them, have turned up in material from the republic government that is hot off the press: the document on the gray economy and the measures to control it, and the Decree on Measures To Prevent and Correct Disturbances on the Market Caused by Abuse of Monopoly Position.

We tried to learn what business people think about them in a conversation with the top people in manufacturing and commercial firms.

"If anyone has been hurt and is being hurt today by the existence of the gray economy, then it is certainly and above all we textile people," says Milenko Drobnjak, assistant general director of the textile combine Ljubisa Miodragovic in Prijepolje.

More Hands—Lighter Load

"I still have not studied the document, but what I have seen leafing through it indicates the firm determination of the republic government to vigorously put a stop not only to the street trade, but to all forms of the gray economy. More vigorously this time than in the past, I hope. And not only in order to replenish the budget, but also and at the same time in order to rescue production and with it the trade sector, whatever part of it has remained sound and is still operating in these times of sanctions.

"Only through a combination of coercion and economic measures, just as the government has in fact proposed, is it possible to deal with the gray economy. Whatever can be integrated into lawful channels should be integrated, and whatever does not fit should be eliminated by vigorous action of the competent authorities: the customs people and the inspectors. The tax burden will in that way be divided among more taxpayers, and breathing room will be given to those who are now doing business legally and who are overburdened with a great many obligations. Legalizing the gray economy, making it fit into the legal economy and obey all the rules of the game, will increase trade and purchasing power (both the trade sector and the public), and it will also at the same time increase profits," Milenko Drobnjak said.

"Big systems, taking the general view," said Mihajlo Kosovac, general director of Magnohrom of Kraljevo, "can hardly be vehicles in the gray economy. Even if they wanted to get into that, they are visible to many eyes both on the inside, within the work force, and also from the outside. How are you going to deny the state what belongs to it, as many private firms do, in the form of taxes and contributions on personal incomes (however unjustifiably high they might be), when in the accounting department of just our firm alone this hanky-panky has to be covered up by at least 200 people? It is different with the private operators: They declare one thing and pay something else. What the unscrupulous private operators deny the state it collects from us who are law-abiding. And that is why the contributions are as high as they are.

"That is why the measures of the state to control the gray economy suit us. A burden spread over more hands is lighter. But whether those who up to now have been operating illegally will be interested in playing according to the rules of the game prescribed by the state we shall have to wait and see. Repressive measures, at least in the past, have not yielded any significant results. How can you expect an inspector, and we know what his official pay is, to resist alluring offers from those he is supposed to inspect? So, I believe more in the effectiveness of that other economic package of measures to draw those in the gray over into the 'white' flows of economic activity."

Dragan Markovic, director of the Lajkovac Agricultural Cooperative, also has greater belief in the more effective impact of economic measures as compared to repressive moves. After all, he says, we cannot expect a man who is poorly paid and not well-equipped to perform a miracle in suppressing the gray economy; it is like a little Fiat chasing a Mercedes.

Not Sparing Even Managing Directors Who Are Ministers

That is why, Markovic believes, when there has to be a gray economy, especially during the sanctions, everything should be done at all levels—from the opština to the federal state—to simplify the procedure for the illegals to join those who are doing business legally, and that also means to the benefit of the state. This will not, of course, go quickly or easily, just as the showdown with monopolistic behavior will not take place overnight. It is important to be persistent and objective in this, Markovic says, and also to measure everyone's behavior by the same yardstick. "So, the same yardstick for me as director of the Lajkovac Cooperative as for those managing directors who are not only managing directors, but also ministers in the government."

"The gray economy would not be as resilient as it is," believes Slavko Terzic, general director of the sugar mill in Sremska Mitrovica, "if it was not partly under the shelter of the state and its large firms. It should, of course, be eliminated insofar as that is possible. After all, there is no country in the world without a gray economy, that small-scale economy on the street. Under the conditions of these sanctions, it is even to some extent a certain safety valve for social tensions.

"However, when it comes to large transactions—the sale of petroleum and petroleum products, fertilizer, pesticides... then the state ought not to leave that to gray channels, which it is doing. After all, the loss is great both for it and for the entire economy.

"Aside from goods, there is also speculation in money," Terzic believes. "What else is it but a gray economy when commercial banks make the purchase of shares a condition for obtaining loans? It is also the gray economy when money intended for the economy goes for certain other purposes even though the state is constantly assuring us that agriculture is one of our strategic commitments.

"I would advocate above all economic measures to attract the gray economy into the lawful channels of the economy," Terzic said, "and one of the most effective measures in my opinion is more effective inspection at the border."

"Both documents," believes Milorad Miskovic, general director of the commercial enterprise Jabuka in Belgrade, "are in keeping with the proposals and positions of business people, both those in production and those in trade. That is why I believe that documents that embody an integral view of the situation and a meaningful survey of measures in the domain of the republic government will this time yield real results."

"However," he says, "under one essential condition. Within the limits of its powers, the Federal Government must most urgently propose a set of measures as a supplement to the republic moves already proposed."

Respect for Deadlines Strengthens Confidence

Nor will there be success unless the recommendation of the republic government is urgently strengthened by an obligation of the republic authorities of Montenegro to adopt the same or a similar package of measures to suppress the gray flows of the economy, Miskovic said. Unless that happens, we will have a case, as we have in the past, where income and goods from Serbia are siphoned over into Montenegro.

The Federal Government, Miskovic believes, must most urgently change, that is, extend, the deadline for computing and collecting the turnover tax. Instead of three times—once a month. After all, this is both socially expedient and rational and increases the level of working capital of the trade sector, which is scant anyway. This deadline was inherited from the time of hyperinflation, when the dinar actually did not have value, and it had to be protected in that way. Now it is different; the dinar is stable, and there is a question of whether the Federal Government believes in the firmness of its own currency.

Gray Economy

95BA0206B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Mar 95 pp 1, 9

[Article by Vesna Jelacic: "From the Gray Zone Into Legal Channels"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In publishing the long-awaited measures that were prepared with the expert support of specialists from the Economics Institute in Belgrade, the Government of Serbia has started a campaign to suppress monopolistic behavior and "bleach the gray economy," this time it seems in a somewhat different way and according to a different formula than we are accustomed to or was perhaps anticipated. Instead of starting with prosecution and punishment, it has decided to first extend the list of its debtors—taxpayers, and then by reducing state imposts and simplifying procedure as

much as and wherever possible, to take the burden off those who have been meeting obligations to it promptly, and then also to win over the monopolists, the speculators, the smugglers, the tax evaders, so that they will leave the gray zone and set out on legal paths. Only if that does not succeed has it envisaged and will it apply those less popular measures that are well-known in all countries even with the most highly developed market economy: from high fines to confiscation of the property gain to padlocking firms. In order to protect itself, of course, the state has foreseen amendments to legislation to narrow the room and opportunities for speculation, to shorten many routes traveled by goods, and to grant inspectors and all competent authorities large powers in monitoring events.

After all, as Srdjan Nikolic, minister of trade and tourism who is the coordinator in the Government of Serbia for carrying out this action, said in a special statement for POLITIKA, the goal of the proposed measures is to protect the market, to stand in the way of monopolists and speculators, to make smuggling and reselling less attractive, to give the scofflaws an incentive to be law-abiding, and to replenish the budget. These are market-oriented measures, as the minister said. "The government is not giving up on the market economy and the free setting of prices, but neither will it allow chaos and anarchy." This is to the mutual satisfaction of the government and its citizens.

The calculations done by the specialists indicate that it can be realistically expected that about half of the gray economy, where about 43 percent of the social product is swimming, will switch over to legal channels and be taxed. Public revenues would increase by about \$1.4 billion, and the tax burden on the regular economy would be reduced by 10.1 percent of the social product, or \$1.1 billion.

For example, it has been proposed, and amendments to the relevant legislation are supposed to make it official in the coming month, that registration and utility fees be reduced, that is, that newly registered firms would be exempted for two years from payment of the republic "fee on firms" and the municipal fee for displaying a sign, except that at the end of that period they would have to be doing at least that much business if they are not to pay the fee they were saved (and it would be revalued) during the grace period. This would not cost the state a single dinar, and after two years budget revenues would increase.

Nor would budget revenues be reduced by reduction of the profit tax by the amount of 40 percent, as is now proposed, instead of the present 20 percent of gross earnings paid to newly hired employees, and employers would be encouraged to hire new workers or declare those who up to now have been working for them illegally. The numbers show that the results of legalizing the employment relation of those who are registered as

unemployed and working illegally (assuming only between 100,000 and 300,000 of them) would run to some 632,734,680 dinars.

The additional incentive employers would have to employ new workers, when, of course, the proposed solution converts illegal workers to legal workers by an official piece of legislation, would be a reduction of contributions from the present 22.3 percent to 11.15 percent.

Lower Taxes, Payment at the Outset

The incentive to legalize illegal employment will be embodied in amendments to the Law on Employment Relations, which have already been proposed to the Assembly and which require employers to sign a job contract with employees before they go to work and declare them for mandatory social security, and they give broad oversight powers to the labor inspectorate.

As for upcoming amendments in tax legislation to prevent the spread of the gray economy and as the best way to put a stop to illegal flows of goods, the competent authorities cite the solution whereby payments to the state (the turnover tax, customs duties, and excise taxes) would be paid at the outset—when they leave the threshold of production or cross the border. That is, it will be the obligation of producers of alcoholic beverages, cigarettes, roasted coffee, and petroleum products to pay the turnover tax before the goods go out the factory gate. Also, excise taxes, customs duties, and the turnover tax on imported consumer goods will be paid right at the border, regardless of whether the importers are legal entities or individuals, except for goods that are exempt under current legislation.

Before the proposed value-added tax is introduced, the spread between the basic and reduced rate of the turnover tax would be narrowed by reducing the basic tax from 24 to 20 percent and increasing the reduced rate from 7 to 10 percent, and at the same time the number of products subject to the lower rate and exempt would be reduced.

Once the trade in goods begins, market inspectors will in the future really have to open all four eyes. Aside from the decree to prevent abuse of monopoly position, they will also be guided in their monitoring by the announced decrees on conditions for trade in goods at open-air markets and sidewalk booths and consignment sale of goods, which later will be replaced by the amended provisions of the Law on Surveillance by Inspectorates, the Law on Commerce, and the antitrust law.

It is also the position of the government that the Law on Self-Employment should be amended and supplemented to make it possible to establish small shops for the sale of fruit, vegetables, eggs, and consumer goods and to make it possible for private operators to engage in all those lines of business, because they have been prohibited by other regulations. Also in the coming period, no later

than the end of March, the procedure for establishing and registering stores and firms is to be simplified to the utmost, in particular for the performance of production and service activities.

Amnesty for Wildcat Builders

The gray economy has also been swimming successfully in the waters of the construction sector. The land use plan is to be adopted as soon as possible, it is the government's position, but everything should also be undertaken wherever possible to legalize wildcat construction in the simplest and least expensive way. In order to prevent those who so far have not done so, but intend to, from building without a permit, the procedure for adoption of urban plans and obtaining all clearances should be simplified and speeded up as soon as possible and deferred payment of the costs of utility connections allowed. While these measures were being prepared, the competent ministry already took the first step by sending out packages of the new laws in the domain of urban planning, construction, and housing to the Serbian Assembly.

However, it is not just the builders who are insubordinate, but by the end of this month we should expect a decree or legislative amendment requiring legal entities and individuals to purchase and sell real estate or personal property through their giro accounts or personal current accounts, because otherwise they will not be able to register or transfer ownership.

These are only some of the measures in the quite large package and only some of the jobs that are supposed to be done in coming months by the competent republic agencies and ministries.

Kosovo

Agani: Rugova's UK Trip 'Bid To Get Support'

AU0804134395 Pristina KOSOVO DAILY REPORT in English No 590, 7 Apr 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President of the Republic of Kosovo Dr. Ibrahim Rugova has been on an official visit to Great Britain in a bid to get support for greater support by the international community for Kosovo and the demands of the Albanians, said Dr. Fehmi Agani, vice-chairman of the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) speaking to reporters today in Prishtina. He referred to President Rugova's meetings with Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, Secretary of State Douglas Hogg, British parliamentarian and former British Prime Minister Baroness Margaret Thatcher. The peaceful policy of the Albanians was supported, Dr. Agani said, welcoming the identification of Kosovo as one of the major issues in region, which deserves increased attention by the international community, as well as the dependence of Serbia's eventual reintegration in the world on the settlement of Kosovo issue.

Speaking about the current state of affairs in Kosova, LDK vice-chairman said repression is the 'hallmark' of Serbian policy in Kosova but also expression of the needs of the Serbian regime in the inter-Serbian confrontations. All the manifestations of the Serbian regime's repression saw their realization in the past week: raids, searches, arrests, beatings, plundering, persecution and threats, Dr. Agani remarked. "The crackdown on the Grejkoc village and some other villages in Suhareke, which has been in place for a month now, reveals the true goal of the Serbian regime. That is certainly not search for arms, but rather forcing the people to flee the country," LDK vice-chairman said.

Dr. Fehmi Agani called the trial going on in Peje, in which 9 Albanians out of over 170 former Kosova police personnel are being tried, a political trial targeting the Albanian political movement and its demands. The only thing the trial is going to disclose is the brutal tortures exercised upon those arrested, he said. The existence of the non-existing Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Kosova cannot be substantiated, Dr. Agani stated, arguing that one cannot speak of "endangering of territorial integrity," "not because the Albanians and their movement favour not undermining the 'integrity' of the occupier, but because they have committed themselves to a political and peaceful path in the way to realization of their demands," Dr. Fehmi Agani said. "No doubt the sentences have been issued in advance," he said, pointing out that "the logic of a police state is that when there is no evidence to substantiate the charge, the length of prison sentence is the key evidence of the guilt of those charged." Dr. Fehmi Agani noted a new dimension of Serbian campaign of persecution and staged trials with the arrests in Gjilan.

LDK vice-chairman denounced the anti-Albanian policies of the FYROM [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] authorities, making mention of the prosecution of the University of Tetovo (UT) rector, Dr. Fadil Sulejmani, human rights activist Milaim Fejziu, and other people involved in the formation of the UT. "If the formation of the University of Tetovo is an illegal act, then it means that Macedonian legislation denies the Albanians university education," Dr. Agani said, adding that such a Macedonia cannot have the support of the Albanians. "It is the Macedonian leadership who should think about the possible implications," he argued.

Commenting on a "symposium on population" convened last week by Serbia in Prishtina, Dr. Fehmi Agani called it a "political Serbian chauvinist farce." The declaration adopted by the "symposium" and the demands put forward have nothing to do with demography, but a "policy of colonization, expulsion of people and ethnic cleansing, ethnoracism which characterizes the Serbian policy in Kosova."

LDK vice-chairman denounced two separate statements by Serbian deputy Prime Minister, Ratko Markovic, the key author of the present Serbian Constitution, in which he announced the adoption by the Serbian Parliament of a "statutory ruling" for Kosova which would, as the Serb legal expert said, avert the possibility of "overruling by the majority." The words of Markovic alleging that Albanians (in Kosova) cannot be a majority in qualitative terms means that the will of 90 percent Albanian community cannot weigh more than the will of 10 percent Serb community, Dr. Fehmi Agani remarked. "The aspiration to extend sovereignty over another people, the Albanians in this case, in opposition to their will, is nothing but an aspiration to occupy them," LDK official ended.

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